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THE

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD.

VOL. I.

THE UNITED STATES.

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As it has been thought advisable to disencumber the pages of this Volume of frequent references to authorities, it may be satisfactory to the reader to be informed generally that the following works have been consulted:—

James's Expedition.—Warden's Account of the United States of America. — Bradbury. — Mackenzie. — Lewis and Clarke. — Playfair's Outlines. — Buchanan's Sketches of the North American Indians. — Halkett's Notes. — Carver's Travels. — Colden. — Hearne. — Adair. — Hunter's Memoirs. — Miers's Travels in South America. — Pike. — Franklin's Journal. — M'Iver. — Major Long. — President Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. — Jarvis and Deponceau. — Gordon's History of the American War. — Marshal. — Fearon's Travels. — Stedman. — Ramsay's History of the Revolutions of South Carolina.

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HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN WORLD.

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INTRODUCTION.

By a singular injustice, the immense tract of land which bears the name of America derives its designation not from one of its first discoverers, but from a Florentine navigator, Americus Vespucius, who, with Alonzo de Ojeda, visited its shores in 1499. So early, indeed, as the middle of the ninth century, the hardy mariners of Scandinavia had not only colonised the island of Iceland, but had even penetrated to the continent, where the first European settlements were founded. Unfortunately all intercourse soon ceased between the parent country and her most recent colonies so completely, that all precise traces of their locality have been lost. At a later period, in 1492, Columbus's daring genius opened the way to the western archipelago, and afterwards, in 1498, to the intertropical regions of the continent, and thus gave a specific direction to the spirit of enterprise which he had so eminently excited. At a period nearly contemporaneous with the later discoveries of Columbus, the two Cabots, after having visited Newfoundland, traced the coasts of the continent as far to the southward as East Florida.

As the History of Discovery falls * within the scope of another part of this Cyclopædia, it is unnecessary to do more in this place than to advert to these events. But, for the sake of distinctness, a rapid sketch of the

* History of Maritime and Inland Discovery.

geographical relations of the various portions of the continent and its islands will be given, while the specific details of the political distribution will form a part of the individual history of each state.

The title of America applies to the whole of the continent and islands, which extend from the North Pole to the southern promontory of Cape Horn, and is contained within about one hundred and sixty-four degrees of longitude. The continent presents the appearance on the map of two elongated and irregular continents, or large islands linked together by an isthmus of great length. The surface not only differs very considerably in character from the old world, but is various in its own divisions: the whole may be considered as being traversed from north to south by a chain of lofty mountains, some of which are the most elevated in the world; and towards the equatorial regions these stupendous heights are connected with each other by plains so far above the level of the sea, that even immediately under the equator a climate as cold as that of northern latitudes is experienced. Hence every variety of climate may be found within the space of a few leagues. The next peculiarity which more especially characterises the southern parts of the American continent is the almost immeasurable extent of the plains, which are now tenanted by countless herds of cattle; and the last remarkable feature of the entire continent is the magnitude and number of inland lakes of fresh water. The length of the rivers is also enormous. The peculiarities of mineral wealth, of animal, vegetable, and fossil remains, are abundant and well marked; but any detail of them is necessarily excluded from the present volumes.

The following pages will exhibit the political history, first, of all the independent states in the continent of North and South America, in which a space will be devoted proportionate to the importance of each; and, finally, the various colonies belonging to the European governments will claim our attention. At no remote period the whole of the now independent states were

colonial establishments, which introduced, as lords of the soil, two races of men wholly unlike the aboriginal inhabitants: of these last, wherever they still exist, a short account is necessary.

Without entering into the question of their origin, it is sufficient to state the undeniable fact, that the Indian tribes of America exhibit characters which distinguish them from all the rest of mankind. They are described by one of the most able of modern writers in the following words: — "The natives of this part of the globe are in general large, of a robust frame, well proportioned, and without defects of conformation. They have a bronzed or coppery red complexion, as it were ferruginous and very like cinnamon or tannin; the hair black, long, coarse, shining, and scanty; the beard thin, growing in tufts; the forehead short, the eyes elongated, and having their corners pointing upwards to the temples; the eyebrows high, the cheek bones projecting, the nose a little flattened, but marked; the lips wide, the teeth serrated and sharp; in the mouth an expression of mildness, which is contrasted with a sombre and severe, and even hard expression; the head rather square, the face large without being flat, but diminishing towards the chin; the features taken in profile, projecting and strongly marked; the belly high, the thighs large, the legs bowed, the foot large, the whole body squat." *

To these characters some exceptions may be found among the Esquimaux in the north, and the Puelches of the south, who are below the middle size, resembling the Samoiedes, and among the Abipones and Patagonians, who are described as being of gigantic stature. Besides these exceptions, some others exist, which will be particularly adverted to in their proper places.

In addition to the strong general resemblance of form and colour which subsists among the various tribes, a close analogy has been traced throughout the various languages in use among them; and some curious en-

* Princ. de la Géographie Universelle. Par M. Malte Brun.

quirers have endeavoured, and, apparently, with no inconsiderable success, to connect the whole with some Asiatic dialects; thus marking the source from which the population probably derived its origin. But the speculations to which such enquiries give rise do not fall within our plan.

The wandering tribes of Esquimaux that are found in Labrador cannot be considered as falling within the rank of a fixed society, for they wander over their desolate country influenced by the season and consequent means of procuring subsistence. They occupy the northern and eastern parts of the continent, and live by fishing. It is among these untutored savages that the Moravian brethren established the three colonies of Nain, Okkak, and Hoffenthol, where they have succeeded in abolishing the former inhuman practice of putting orphans and widows to death; and have also introduced such of the arts of life as are practicable in such a country.

Of Greenland and its inhabitants some account will be given in that of the colonial establishments; but it is proper here to mention the fact of there being some nomadic tribes of Greenlanders, although little is known to mark any important difference between them and their subjugated brethren.

These are the only two races that can in our view be considered in a state of perfect independence in the most northern parts of America; for although there is a variety of tribes scattered over other parts of the same neighbourhood, who acknowledge no subordination, yet their intercourse brings them so much within the operation of their white neighbours, that it will be convenient to treat of them in connection with the governments that exercise a powerful though indirect influence over their social condition and future destinies.

Whether we consider the United States as the parent of the whole of the revolutions that have been effected throughout the continent of America, or as having advanced with giant strides from the condition of an

assemblage of colonies to that of an independent government, we must yield to them precedence in point of importance to all others; and as such we shall devote the first portion of this work to a consideration of their early establishment, their progress as colonies, their successful resistance to the parent state, and, lastly, the splendid career they have entered upon since their independence was permanently established.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

CHAP. I.

BOUNDARIES. — OUTLINE OF THE COUNTRY. — RIVERS. — CLIMATE.

THE United States of North America are bounded by the Pacific Ocean on the west; by the Atlantic on the east; by the gulf and republic of Mexico on the south; and on the north by the river St. Laurence, and a line passing through the middle of the lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, following the course of their connecting rivers, and keeping the middle of the stream. On leaving lake Superior, the northern line of demarcation passes to the north-west point of the lake of the Woods, in north latitude 49° 37′, and thence westward to the Pacific.

The great chain of lakes which, with the connecting streams, forms a considerable part of the northern boundary of the United States, presents the largest body of fresh water that is any where to be found on the earth. Lake Superior, lying between 46° 30′ and 49° north latitude, and between 84° and 92° 10′ west longitude, following the windings of the shore, is about 1200 miles in circumference. It is very deep, especially towards the north side, and contains a number of islands. It receives several rivers; but it has been calculated that a great portion of the water is carried off by evaporation; for it receives far more from its tributary streams than it discharges by the straits of St. Mary

and the lake George, by which it communicates with lake Huron.

Lake Huron lies between 42° and 46° north latitude, and 80° and 84° west longitude. Its greatest length from east to west is about 250, and its greatest breadth about 200 miles. Towards the middle it is unfathomable. By the straits of Michillimackinac, a channel six miles long, at its north-west extremity, it communicates with lake Michigan, which lies wholly within the territory of the United States, and which is about 945 miles in circumference. It contains a number of islands; and by the lake St. Clair and the river Detroit it communicates with lake Erie.

Lake Erie, the surface of which is 564 feet above the level of the tide in the Atlantic, lies between 40° 30′ and 43° north latitude, and 78° 48′ and 83° west longitude. It is of an oval form, about 230 miles long, from 50 to 60 broad, 610 miles in circumference, and from 40 to 300 feet deep. It contains a number of islands, and communicates with lake Ontario by Niagara river, which is thirty-six miles long, three quarters of a mile broad, and runs at about four miles an hour. The descent from the head of this river in lake Erie, to its termination in lake Ontario, is estimated at 450 feet, and about the middle of its course it is remarkable for the celebrated falls of Niagara, where the whole mass of water, after gliding nearly a mile, with great velocity, over a sloping channel, is precipitated over a perpendicular rock upwards of 150 feet high.

Lake Ontario, which, by the Niagara, receives the overflowing waters of all the higher lakes, lies between 43° and 44° north latitude. It is of an oval form, about 160 miles long, 60 broad, 450 in circumference, and contains nineteen islands.

From lake Ontario issues the great river St. Laurence; which, after a course of 600 miles, discharges, through the gulf of its own name, the waters of the lakes into the Atlantic Ocean, between the 49th and 50th degrees of north latitude

The vast country contained within the limits already mentioned is marked by magnificent features, and is divided by the hand of nature into three extensive regions,—the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Pacific. Two great ranges of mountains—the Alleghanies and Rocky Mountains, with the declivities on their sides—form these divisions.

The Alleghany or Apalachian mountains traverse the country from north-east to south-west, from the St. Laurence to Georgia, for about 900 miles. They generally run parallel to the Atlantic, and nearly at the distance of 200 miles from the shore. These mountains are separated into two chains, the Eastern or Blue Mountains, and the Western or Alleghanies proper. Including their intervening valleys, they may be estimated at 100 miles broad. The summit of the western chain, which is highest, rises about 3000 feet above the level of the sea. Several of the rivers which flow into the Atlantic have their sources between these two ridges, and pass through gaps in the eastern chain.

On the eastern side, upwards of one half of the height of the Alleghanies is an elevation above their base, and the rest is a gradual ascent from the shore to the base of the mountains. From the ocean to the bottom of the mountains the land rises by a gradual but almost imperceptible acclivity; and the slope on the west side of the mountains to the Mississippi is still more gentle, in proportion as the bed of that river is above the level of the sea. Following the course of the rivers, the base of the mountains is upwards of 200 miles from the Atlantic. Now, if that base be estimated at an elevation of 1000 or 1200 feet, it will give an average descent of four or five feet in the mile to the rivers on the eastern declivity of the mountains; and somewhat less to those on the west side. This gradual and gentle descent of the rivers accounts for the great extent of inland navigation in the United States. In the valley of the Mississippi, by the channels of that river and the Ohio only, vessels ascend an inclined plane of 2400 miles in length, and

reach a height of 1200 or 1400 feet above the level of the sea, without the help of canals or locks. This is an advantage which no other country in the world enjoys to an equal extent. In Europe, the great chains of mountains are much higher than the Alleghanies, the course of the rivers shorter, their descent more rapid, and consequently their navigation far more limited.

The Atlantic states are watered by a number of large rivers; among which may be mentioned the Connecticut, Hudson or North river, Delaware, Susquehannah, Santee, Pedee, and Savannah.

On arriving at the top of the Alleghanies, the noble valley of the Mississippi opens to the view. It is bounded by the Alleghanies on the east; on the north by the elevated ground which separates it from the lakes; on the west by the Rocky Mountains, and on the south it terminates in the Gulf of Mexico.

The breadth of the basin of the Mississippi, from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, is about 1300 miles; and its length from north to south is somewhat more. It contains, in superficial measure, almost a million and three quarters of square miles.

This vast valley, which is diversified by some hills and ridges, is refreshed by a number of noble rivers, which, like so many branches, meet in the Mississippi as their common trunk, and are by it conveyed to the ocean.

The Mississippi, or "mother of the waters," rising from small lakes in 47° 38′ north latitude, and 95° 6′ west longitude from Greenwich, traverses the valley, generally speaking, in about 90° west longitude, and is twice as distant from the Rocky Mountains as from the Alleghanies. It is a magnificent river, and is below the Missouri, from half a mile to two miles in breadth. At New Orleans it is sixty fathoms deep; between that place and the bar at its mouth it is nowhere less than thirteen fathoms, and runs about four miles an hour.

The Mississippi receives several large rivers on each side. Of these we shall mention only the Missouri on

the west, and the Ohio on the east. The Missouri rising in the Rocky Mountains about 43° 30′ north latitude, and between 111° and 112° west longitude, after a winding course of more than 3000 miles, 101° 25′ west longitude, reaches 47° 32′ north latitude, and after receiving many tributary streams, falls into the Mississippi in 38° 55′ north latitude, and 90° west longitude. At the point of confluence it is as large as the Mississippi; and is navigable for 2575 miles from its mouth, where the navigation is terminated in 47° 3′ north, and about 110° west, by the great falls of the river. Thus, in the course of twelve miles, the Missouri descends about 400 feet, raging and foaming amid rugged and precipitous rocks. The upper parts of this river and its sources were unknown to the civilised world until they were explored by Lewis and Clarke, whose travels began in 1804, and terminated in 1806. This expedition, planned by president Jefferson, and executed at the expense of the United States, was conducted with a singular degree of sagacity, perseverance, hardihood, and success. It reflects the highest credit on the party engaged in it, and will bear a comparison with any similar undertaking in the history of the world.

Among the rivers received by the Mississippi from the east is the Ohio, or Beautiful River. This river is formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers at Pittsburg; and, after a course of 1030 miles, falls into the Mississippi in 37° 22′ north, and 88° 50′ west. It is not navigable for vessels of burden during the summer months; but begins to be so in February or March, and continues till the end of June. It forms an easy communication with Lake Erie.

The Rocky Mountains, which are evidently a continuation of the Andes of the southern hemisphere, run from S.S.E. to N.N.W., and terminate in the ocean, in about 70° north, and 130° west. Their base is probably about 3000 feet above the level of the sea; and between the parallels of 40° and 50° north they rise

from 6000 to 9000 feet above their base. Towards the sources of the Platte, their eastern side, which rises abruptly like a rampart out of the plain, is in about 106° west longitude. Their breadth has been estimated by major Long as varying from 50 to a 100 miles. On their west side, a declivity from 500 to 600 miles broad, watered by the Columbia, and its tributary streams, conducts us to the Pacific Ocean.

The climate of the United States, extending from 29° to 50° north latitude, is very different in different places. It is modified by other causes besides those which depend on latitude. It is watered by many noble rivers. This interesting country has hitherto felt the improvement of human industry but in a very partial degree, and hence it is in many places a forest full of marshes and lakes. All these circumstances have an influence on the climate; and, in the eastern states, render it considerably colder in winter, than it is in corresponding degrees of latitude on the old continent.

It is well known that in Europe, proceeding eastward on the same parallel of latitude, the climate becomes more severe as we recede from the shores of the Atlantic. The rigour of a Petersburgh or a Moscow winter is altogether unknown in corresponding latitudes in Scotland. This decrease of heat continues as we proceed eastward through the north of Asia; and the climate of Pekin, in 39° 54′ north latitude, is colder than in the same parallel of latitude in the west of Europe. Where the Pacific Ocean is very broad, the winds become milder in passing over its surface; and, until we go upwards of 40° north, the climate on the western coast of America is nearly of the same temperature as in equal latitudes on the west of Europe; but, in high latitudes, the winds which have acquired a great degree of cold in passing over the vast wilds of Siberia have their rigour little mitigated in crossing the Pacific, which is there comparatively narrow. On reaching the west coast of America, they met with a mountainous region stretching far towards the north, and before they

arrive at the east side of the Rocky Mountains, they are piercingly cold. Although the cultivation of Siberia, and much more of America itself, might improve the climate of the American continent, yet this latter country must for ever be exposed to a great degree of cold from north-west winds.

The Atlantic states, and the territory east of the Mississippi were, till of late, one great and unbroken forest; and, even at present, they are but very partially cleared by human industry. It is with difficulty that the rays of the sun reach the soil, which has been but little turned up to their genial influence. These circumstances produce a great effect on the climate; and, in winter, render the temperature of the Atlantic states ten degrees lower, by Fahrenheit's scale, than it is in corresponding latitudes in the west of Europe.

On the east of the Alleghanies, between the parallels of 42° and 45° north, the winter is very severe for three or four months; and for five or six weeks in summer the heat is intense. In the middle states the winter is severe but short, seldom lasting more than fifteen or twenty days, and generally beginning in November. The temperature of summer is not much higher than it is in the northern states. In the southern states, beginning with Virginia, snow is little known, except on the mountains, and the summer is very warm.

In the basin of the Mississippi the climate does not exhibit the same extremes, either of heat or cold, as in the Atlantic states. There, except for two months about the winter solstice, south-west winds prevail, which blow from the Pacific Ocean, across a neck of land neither very elevated nor very broad, and from the Gulf of Mexico, and render that country three degrees warmer than that of the Atlantic states, though separated only by the Alleghanies. In the southern parts, indeed, of the region of the Mississippi, the seasons resemble those of tropical countries; but as we advance northward, and proceed up the Ohio or Missouri, the heat decreases, while the rigour of the eastern states

is unknown. In the northern parts of the Missouri, however, the cold in winter is remarkably severe: for Lewis and Clarke state, that at Fort Mandan, in latitude 47° 21′ north, on the 17th of December, 1804, the mercury fell to 45° below 0. If this statement be correct it marks an extreme degree of cold.

In the valley of the Columbia the climate resembles that of corresponding latitudes in the west of Europe.

The temperature of the Atlantic states, between 41° and 45° north, is about ten degrees lower in winter, and as much higher in summer, than in the same latitudes in Europe. It is also liable to more sudden and violent changes, owing principally to the inconstancy of the winds: these blow generally from the east, north-east, north-west, or south-west. The east wind, passing over the Atlantic, and heated by the gulf stream, is generally warm; but it often suddenly changes to the north-west, when, having traversed a high and uncleared country, it becomes intensely cold. In winter, when the wind shifts suddenly to this quarter, the surface of the earth and water is frozen hard in the space of a few hours, and the atmosphere is loaded with icy particles, which strike the face of the traveller, and create a very disagreeable sensation. This wind prevails in winter, and is dry and cold. On reaching the Atlantic coast, it meets with warm clouds and currents of air, which produce rain: on the banks of the Mississippi and Ohio it occasions rain in winter, and storms in summer. West of the Alleghanies, the south-west wind blows in summer more constantly than on the Atlantic coast.

The mean annual temperature varies according to the place.

In Massachussets it is 49° Fahrenheit's scale.
In Philadelphia 53°.
In Virginia 57°.
In Charlestown 63°.

To enable a native of this country to judge more accurately of the degree of heat in the above table, it

may be observed that the mean annual temperature for the last twenty years, in the west of Fife in Scotland, has been 45° at nine o'clock in the morning.

The heat of summer is relieved by storms of thunder and rain. The rains are much heavier than in Europe, and resemble those of tropical regions. The mean annual quantity is about one third more than on the old continent, where it does not exceed twenty-five or twenty-six inches; whereas in the Atlantic states of North America it may be estimated at about thirty-seven or thirty-eight inches.

Since Europeans first settled in the country the climate appears to have undergone a considerable change, and to have been improved by cutting down forests, draining marshes, and turning up the soil to the genial rays of the sun. Owing to these causes the easterly winds are more prevalent, and penetrate farther into the country than formerly; and hence the voyage from Europe to America is performed in a third less time than it was half a century ago. Ships are now in far less danger than formerly of being driven off the coast by westerly gales, even after being in sight of port. As the cultivation of the soil proceeds this amelioration of the climate will no doubt increase, and show that industry can affect those parts of nature which seem farthest removed beyond the reach of human power.

Thus, by the local circumstances and peculiar configuration of the country, the United States of North America possess a climate considerably different from that of the same parallels of latitude in the west of Europe.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS. — THEIR ORIGIN. — COLOUR. — CHARACTER. — EMPLOYMENTS. — DRESS. — HOUSES. — FOOD. — MARRIAGE. — EDUCATION. — PICTURE WRITING. — NAMES. — WOMEN. — MEDICINE. — BURIAL. — MOURNING. — RELIGION. — GOVERNMENT. — ELOQUENCE. — WARS. — WEAPONS. SMOKING. — WAMPUM. — LANGUAGES.

When North America was first visited by the Europeans, it was inhabited by many independent savage tribes, which subsisted by hunting, fishing, the spontaneous productions of the earth, and some cultivation of the soil. These tribes commonly lived remote from each other, in the bosom of immense forests; and each claimed an extensive tract of land as its hunting ground.

But the great body of the North American Indians are evidently of a race different from the Esquimaux, and concerning their origin various opinions have been entertained.

Blome, Adair, and Boudinot, have thought them the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel; others have imagined them the offspring of the Canaanites expelled by Joshua; Grotius, adopting the opinion of Martyr, the companion of Columbus, believed part at least of America to have been peopled by Æthiopians and Christians; and the late ingenious De Witt Clinton, governor of the state of New York, maintained that the American Indians are of Tatar origin; and that, in ages past, they overcame and exterminated a prior race of inhabitants, who had made greater progress in civilisation than themselves. But, whatever may be the difficulty of accounting for the ancient fortifications to which this learned writer refers, his opinion seems to rest on no solid foundation; for there is no appearance that, before their intercourse with the Europeans, the Indians had ever seen a people who had attained any considerable degree of improvement.

But to enter into speculations of this kind is not the

object of the present work; and it may serve our purpose to allege, in general, that the progenitors of the Indian tribes emigrated from the north-east parts of Asia to the north-west parts of America, and thence gradually spread themselves over that great continent. At what time this emigration began it is needless to enquire, and impossible to ascertain. It is not unreasonable to believe, that families or tribes performed the passage at different periods and at different places. Savages are often carried to great distances in their frail barks. The islands of the South Sea, although widely separated from each other, are mostly inhabited; and the person who thoroughly understands the language of any one island, is seldom at a loss to hold communication with the natives of any other; which proves that those people are all of one common stock, and that the period of their settlement in the islands is not very remote.

In this enquiry the Indians can give us no assistance; for of their own history, beyond the traditionary records of two or three generations, they know nothing; and the strange notions which some of them entertain of their origin need not surprise us. According to the unambitious belief of the Osages, a people living on the banks of one of the lower tributaries of the Missouri, they are sprung from a snail and a beaver. The Mandans believe their ancestors once lived in a large village under ground, near a subterranean lake; that by means of a vine tree, which extended its roots to their cheerless habitation, they got a glimpse of the light; that informed by some adventurers, who had visited the upper world, of the numerous buffalos pasturing on the plains, and of the trees loaded with delicious fruits, the whole nation, with one consent, began to ascend the roots of the vine; but that, when about the half of them had reached the surface, a corpulent woman climbing up, broke the roots by her weight; that the earth immediately closed, and concealed for ever from those below the cheering beams of the sun. From a people who

entertain such fanciful notions of their origin, no valuable information concerning their early history can be expected.

The character of man, to a great extent, is formed by the circumstances in which he is placed; and, as all the North American nations, at the time of their first discovery by Europeans, were in the same savage state, and procured subsistence by similar means, there was a striking uniformity in their appearance, character, manners, customs, and opinions. But, by their intercourse with Europeans, that uniformity has, in some measure, been broken. Many of the tribes have received several articles of merchandise, horses, arms, cloth, culinary utensils, and intoxicating liquors, from their white neighbours or visitors, and this has had some influence on their habits of life.

The colour of the human race seems to depend on two circumstances,—climate, and manner of life. In general, mankind are of a darker colour as we advance towards the equator, and whiter as we approach the polar regions. The complexion is affected also by the degree of elevation above the level of the sea. Climate, however, is not the only circumstance on which colour depends: it is determined, in a considerable degree, by the manner of life. In the same parallel of latitude, savages who are almost always in the open air, and who live in a rude and dirty manner, are of a darker complexion than the members of more civilised society.

Both of those causes have operated on the North American Indians. They are all of a red copper colour, with some diversity of shade. The men are tall, large boned, and well made; with small black eyes, lodged in deep sockets, high cheek-bones, nose more or less aquiline, mouth large, lips rather thick, and the hair of the head black, straight, and coarse. In general, they carefully extract the hair of the beard and other parts of the body, and hence were long believed destitute of that excrescence. The general expression of the countenance

is gloomy and severe. Formerly some tribes flattened the heads of their infants by artificial pressure; but at present that practice is unknown to the east of the Rocky Mountains. They have a sound understanding, quick apprehension, and retentive memory, with an air of indifference in their general behaviour.

The women, or *squaws*, differ considerably from the men, both in person and features. They are small and short, with homely, broad faces; but have often an expression of mildness and sweetness in their looks.

Except when engaged in war, hunting and fishing are the sole employment of the men. By means of these, by the spontaneous productions of the earth, and by a partial cultivation of the soil, they procure a precarious subsistence; feasting freely when successful in the chase, but capable of great abstinence when provisions are less plentiful.

Some of the tribes, when first visited by Europeans, raised considerable crops; and they taught the early settlers in New England to plant and dress maize. At present several nations cultivate maize, beans, pumpkins, and water-melons; and in this way considerably increase their means of subsistence.

Hunting, war, the desire of revenge, or the love of amusement, are the usual incitements of the men to action. Subjected to much fatigue and many privations, exposed to continual dangers, and under perpetual apprehensions of being attacked by his enemies, the Indian has little gaiety in his character. He is rather gloomy and silent. Grave in his whole deportment, he seldom opens his mouth but to utter what he deems important. He is sagacious and penetrating; and his observations are often rational and shrewd. He will smile, but rarely laughs; and never indulges in playful sallies, or unnecessary remarks, merely for the sake of talking. He generally speaks in a low tone of voice, and employs few words, except in council, where his elocution is loud, rapid, and vehement. The young men not unfrequently engage keenly in games and amusements. In general,

the Indians are cool and circumspect, with much apparent apathy.

The *squaw* is often a perfect contrast to her partner. She is sprightly in her demeanour, and her countenance is enlivened by a pleasant smile. Her risibility is easily excited, and she is not deficient in prattling loquacity.

The sight, smell, and hearing of the Indians being frequently and attentively exercised, are all remarkably acute. They can trace the footsteps of man or beast through the forest, and over the plain and mountain, where an inexperienced eye cannot discern the slightest vestige. They can often judge, with much accuracy, how many persons have been in the company, how long it is since they passed, and even, at times, to what nation they belonged. They can pursue their course through the pathless forest, or over the snowy mountain, with undeviating certainty; and are guided by marks which entirely escape the notice of an European.

Strangers to letters, and untutored by learning, their passions, which are little curbed by parental authority, grow up wild and unpruned, like the trees of their native forests. They are fickle and capricious; irascible and impetuous; kind to their friends, vindictive and cruel towards their enemies; and in order to execute their revenge, they readily exercise dissimulation and deceit, and shrink from no toil or danger. Their distinguishing qualities are strength, cunning, and ferocity; and as war is their first employment, so bravery is their first virtue.

The ancient weapon of the hunter was the bow and arrow; but many of them have now procured muskets. Their dress differs considerably in different tribes. It consisted originally of skins; but many of them are now provided with blankets and different kinds of cloth. The dress of the Kouzas, a tribe on the Missouri, may serve as a sample. They protect their feet with *moccasins*, or shoes made of dressed deer, elk, or buffalo skin: *leggins* of deer-skin reach to the upper part of the thigh: a *breech-cloth* passes between the legs, and is

attached to a girdle fastened round the loins. A blanket or skin covers the upper part of the body; but in warm weather it is laid aside. In some tribes the hair is allowed to flow loosely over the face and shoulders; in others it is carefully braided, knotted, and ornamented, and is always well greased. In many cases the head is bare, both in summer and winter; but in others, both men and women wear a cap like an inverted bowl. The men have also a war cap, which they put on as a symbol of mourning, or when preparing for battle. It is commonly decorated with the feathers of rare birds, or with the claws of beavers or eagles, or other similar ornaments. A quill or feather is also suspended from it for every enemy that the warrior has slain in battle. They often suspend from their ears wampum beads, silver and tin trinkets, and they are fond of bracelets and rings. The face and body are often besmeared with a mixture of grease and coal. They are very attentive to personal decoration; and vermilion is an important article at their toilet. The faces of the men are painted with more care than those of the women; and the latter have more pride in adorning the countenances of their husbands than their own. A tobacco pouch, attached to the girdle or carried in the hand, is a usual part of their equipment. The women's dress is partly like that of the men; but their leggins only reach to the knee; they have sleeveless shifts, which come down to the ankle, and a mantle covers all.

On the north-west coast of America, between 52° and 53° north latitude, the dress of the natives consists of a single robe, tied over the shoulders, falling down to the heels behind, and a little below the knee before, with a deep fringe round the bottom. It is generally made of the bark of the cedar tree, spun like hemp. Some of those garments are interwoven with stripes of the sea-otter's skin, which gives them the appearance of fur on one side: others have stripes of red and yellow threads fancifully introduced towards the borders, which produce a very agreeable effect. The men have no other

covering, and they unceremoniously lay it aside whenever it suits their convenience to do so. Besides the robe the women have a close fringe hanging down before them, and they cut their hair so short that it needs little care or combing: the men have theirs in plaits, smeared with grease and red earth, and, instead of a comb, they have a small stick, suspended by a string from one of the locks, which they employ to alleviate any itching or irritation of the head.

The *wigwams*, tents, or lodges of the Indians are differently constructed in different nations. The rudest are formed of branches resting against each other at the top, covered with leaves or grass, and forming a very imperfect shelter against the weather. The nations on the west of the Rocky Mountains have houses formed of a frame of sticks, covered with mats and dried grass. Many tribes erect long poles, in a circular form at the bottom, and resting against each other at the top, which they cover with skins: others have oblong lodges, consisting of a wooden frame, covered with grass mats and earth. The light is admitted by a small door, and by an aperture in the top, which serves also for the escape of the smoke. The fire is in the middle of the lodge, and the family sit round it on the bare ground; but they spread a skin for a stranger. They readily kindle a fire by rapidly turning one piece of smooth wood upon another; but in the vicinity of Europeans, they are now generally provided with flint and steel. On the north-west coast some tribes live in houses considerably elevated above the ground, and supported by upright posts.

Their scanty and simple furniture and culinary utensils are suited to their humble dwellings and homely manner of life. A kettle, a wooden bowl, a couple of wooden or horn spoons, a few skins for beds and covers, and a buffalo's stomach for carrying water, are the chief articles of domestic accommodation. Formerly they used earthen pots; but these are now generally superseded by metallic pots or kettles, purchased from the white traders. Some of the tribes on the north-west of

Lake Superior cook their victuals in vessels made of *watape*, the name given to the split roots of the spruce fir. These they weave so closely as to contain water which they raise to the boiling point by putting into it a succession of heated stones.

Many of the tribes are strangers to bread and salt. Besides fruits and roots, they feed on the flesh of the animals they kill, boiled or roasted. In travelling, *pemmican* is their favourite food. It consists of flesh cut into thin slices, dried in the sun or over a slow fire, beat to a coarse powder between two stones, and then carefully packed up. In different nations it is known by different names.

Among the tribes who practise cultivation, maize is sometimes roasted in the ashes, and sometimes bruised and boiled, and is then called *hominey*. They also boil and eat wild rice, which grows in considerable quantities in some parts of the country. They have no fixed time for meals, but eat when they are hungry. They present food to a stranger, at what time soever he enters their dwelling.

Polygamy is not uncommon among them; and the husband occasionally finds it necessary to administer a little wholesome castigation to his more quarrelsome or refractory squaws. But many are satisfied with one wife. The care of the tent and the whole drudgery of the family devolve on the women. They gather fuel, cook the provisions, and repair every article of dress; cultivate the ground, where any is cultivated; carry the baggage on a journey; and pitch the tent when they halt. In these and similar employments their lordly fathers, husbands, and brothers, think it degrading to assist them, and unworthy of warriors to engage in such employments.

The women seldom experience difficulty in parturition; they trust to the efforts of nature, and are not accustomed to call in obstetric aid. If their labour be ever severe, it is only in case of a first child; and then, in some of the tribes, it is not uncommon to administer

a small quantity of the rattle of the rattlesnake, pulverised and mixed with water, to hasten delivery. But in general there is no need for this, or any other medical application. If a woman be seized with pains while her tribe is on a journey, she falls behind; but soon overtakes her friends with her infant on her back. The women suckle their children two years or more; and being exposed to excessive toil, they are seldom prolific.

The new-born babe is washed, wrapped in a skin or cloth, fastened to a board a little broader and longer than itself, and so carried on its mother's back. In some tribes they flatten the infant's head, by carefully fastening on it a board, or a bag of sand.

In none of the tribes do the women experience much tenderness; but among the Sioure they are so harshly treated, that they occasionally destroy their female infants, alleging that it is better for them to be put to death than to live as miserably as they themselves have done. Even suicide is not uncommon among them, although they believe it offensive to the Father of Life.

The Indians never chastise their children, especially the boys; thinking that it would damp their spirits, check their love of independence, and cool their martial ardour, which they wish above all things to encourage. "Reason," say they, "will guide our children, when they come to the use of it; and before that their faults cannot be very great." They avoid compulsory measures, and allow the boys to act with uncontrolled freedom; but endeavour by example, instruction, and advice, to train them to diligence and skill in hunting; to animate them with patience, courage, and fortitude in war; and to inspire them with contempt of danger, pain, and death, — qualities of the highest order in the estimation of an Indian.

By gentleness and persuasion they endeavour to imbue the minds of their children with virtuous sentiments, according to their notions of virtue. The aged

chiefs are zealous in this patriotic labour, and the squaws give their cordial co-operation.

Ishuchenau, an old Kanza warrior, often admonished the group of young auditors who gathered around him of their faults, and exhorted them never to tell a lie, and never to steal, except from an enemy, whom it is just to injure in every possible way. "When you become men," said he, "be brave and cunning in war, and defend your hunting grounds against all encroachments: never suffer your squaws and little ones to want; protect them and strangers from insult. On no occasion betray a friend; be revenged on your enemies; drink not the poisonous strong water of the white people, for it is sent by the bad spirit to destroy the Indians. Fear not death; none but cowards fear to die. Obey and venerate old people, particularly your parents. Fear and propitiate the bad spirit, that he may do you no harm: love and adore the Good Spirit, who made us all, who supplies our hunting grounds, and keeps all alive." After recounting his achievements, he was wont to add, "Like a decayed prairie tree, I stand alone: — the friends of my youth, the companions of my sports, my toils, and my dangers, rest their heads on the bosom of our mother. My sun is fast descending behind the western hills, and I feel it will soon be night with me." Then with hands and eyes lifted towards heaven, he thanked the Great Spirit for having spared him so long, to show the young men the true path to glory and fame.

Their opinions, in many instances, are false, and lead to corresponding errors in conduct. In some tribes, the young person is taught to pray, with various superstitious observances, that he may be a great hunter, horse-stealer, and warrior; so that thus the fountain of virtue is polluted.

The Indians are entirely unacquainted with letters; but they have a kind of picture writing, which they practise on the inside of the bark of trees, or on skins

prepared for the purpose, and by which they can communicate the knowledge of many facts to each other.

The Indian names are descriptive of the real or supposed qualities of the persons to whom they belong: they often change them in the course of their lives. The young warrior is ambitious of acquiring a new name; and stealing a horse, scalping an enemy, or killing a bear, are achievements which entitle him to choose one for himself, and the nation confirms it.

The Indian women are industrious wives and affectionate mothers. They are attentive to the comfort of their husbands, watch over their children with the utmost care and tenderness; and if they die, lament the loss in the most affecting manner.

Chastity is not reckoned a virtue; and, as the women are considered the property of the men, a deviation from it, with the consent of the father, husband, or brother, is not looked on as an offence. Nay, to countenance their wives, sisters, or daughters, in conferring favours on strangers is considered a strong expression of hospitality; and the refusal of the proffered kindness is regarded by the lady as an unpardonable insult. But some husbands, on discovering unauthorised conjugal infidelity, punish it with severity; others treat it very lightly.

The Indians are kind and hospitable to their friends, and to those who are introduced to them in that character. Although they themselves sit on the bare ground, yet they courteously spread a buffalo skin for their visitor; smoke a pipe with him in token of peace and amity; and the squaw prepares something for him to eat. They have little selfishness, and are ready to share their last morsel with their friends.

They are immoderately addicted to intoxicating liquors, which they procure from the white traders, and which have been the means of destroying multitudes of them. Before their intercourse with white men they had no intoxicating beverage; and, excepting the liquor which they procure from the merchants, their meals are

temperate, and their habits of life active. Their diseases are few, and seldom of long duration. Many of them fall in battle; and multitudes are occasionally swept away by small-pox. To the healing art they are in a great measure strangers; although, by means of simples, they in some instances perform surprising cures. In general, however, these pretenders to medical skill are mere quacks and jugglers, who affect to chase away disease by howling, blowing on the patient, and by various incantations, slight of hand performances, and superstitious rites.

Some of their medical men pretend to have seen the Great Spirit, and to have conversed with him in some visible form, as of a buffalo, beaver, or other animal; and to have received from him some medicine of peculiar efficacy. The animal whose form had appeared is considered to be the remedy; and they imitate its cry in making their medical applications. The medicine bag, in which these savage physicians have a few herbs, entire or pulverised, and which they administer with a little warm water, is an indispensable requisite in Indian medical practice. Indeed, the head of every family has his medicine bag, which is a place of sacred deposit, and to the sanctity of which he commits his most precious articles. The value of its contents an Indian only can appreciate.

In every stage of society persons appear who accommodate themselves to the state of the public mind. Of this description are the jugglers, conjurers, or powahs, among the ignorant and superstitious Indians. They are partly medical quacks, partly religious impostors. Many of them are dexterous jugglers and cunning cheats. They pretend to foretell future events, and even to influence the weather. It is likely that they are often, in some measure, the dupes of their own artifices.

The sweating, houses of the Indians are often employed for medical purposes, although they are places of social recreation also. A hole is dug in the ground, and over it is built a small close hut, with an opening just

large enough to admit the patient. A number of heated stones are placed in the bottom of the hole. The patient enters, having a vessel full of water along with him; and being seated on a place prepared for his reception, the entrance is closed. He sprinkles water on the heated stones, and is soon, by the steam, thrown into a state of profuse perspiration. After this has continued for some time, the person is taken out and plunged into cold water. This process is repeated several times, always ending with the steam-bath. The Indians use this as a general remedy; but its salutary effects are experienced chiefly in rheumatic diseases, in which its efficacy is at times very great.

The Indians bear disease with composure and resignation; and when far advanced in life often long for the hour of dissolution. "It is better," said an aged sachem, "to sit than to stand, to sleep than to be awake, to be dead than alive." The dying man exhorts his children to be industrious, kind to their friends, but implacable to their enemies. He rejoices in the hope of immortality. He is going to the land of spirits, that happy place where there is plenty of game and no want, where the path is smooth and the sky clear.

When the sick person expires, the friends assemble round the body, the women weep and clap their hands, and bewail their loss with loud lamentations. Different nations dispose of the bodies of departed friends, and express their grief, in different ways. Many Indian tribes bury their dead soon after death. They wrap up the body carefully in a buffalo robe, or dressed skin, and carry it to the grave on the shoulders of two or three men. Along with the body they bury a pair or two of moccasins, some meat, and other articles, to be used on the journey to the town of brave spirits, which they generally believe lies towards the setting sun. The favourite weapons and utensils of the warrior are also deposited by his side. It is believed that unless this be done, the spirit of the deceased appears among the trees near his lodge, and does not go to its rest till the

property withheld be committed to the grave. In some places they discharge muskets, make a noise, and violently strike the trees, in order to drive away the spirit, which they imagine fondly lingers near its old abode. A mound is sometimes raised over the grave, proportioned in size to the dignity of the deceased; or the place is marked out and secured by short sticks driven into the ground over and around it. Some of those graves are commonly near each of their villages.

The tribes on the Columbia construct long narrow sheds, in which they deposit the dead, carefully wrapped up in skins, and covered with mats. The Killamucks, a tribe living near the shore of the Pacific Ocean, on the south of the Columbia, inclose their dead in an oblong wooden box, which they place in an open canoe, lying on the ground, with a paddle and some other articles of the deceased by his side. The Chinooks, Clatsops, and neighbouring nations, support the canoe on posts, about six feet from the ground, and reverse a larger canoe over it. The whole is wrapped up in mats made of rushes, and fastened with cords, usually made of the bark of white cedar. But instead of laying the body in a box like the Killamucks, they roll it carefully in a dressed skin. Vancouver saw canoes, containing dead bodies, suspended from the branches of trees, about twelve feet from the ground. The Chopunnish, a tribe living on the western side of the Rocky Mountains, lay their dead in burying places constructed of boards, like the roof of a house. The bodies are rolled in skins, laid over each other, and separated by a board above and below. They devote horses, canoes, and other kinds of property, to the dead. Carver mentions some tribes on the St. Peter's which annually carry their dead for interment to a cave on the banks of the Mississippi. It appears that some others occasionally burn the dead, or at least the flesh, and afterwards bury the bones.

On the death of a relation, the survivors give way to excessive grief, bedaub themselves with white clay, blacken their faces, cut off their hair, and not unfre-

quently mangle themselves in a shocking manner, thrusting knives or arrows into the muscular parts of their thighs or arms, or cutting off a joint of one of their fingers. For a while they nightly repair to the place of sepulture to give expression to their grief; and may occasionally be seen affectionately plucking the grass from the grave of a deceased relation or friend.

Among those tribes where provisions are scarce, and procured with difficulty, it is not uncommon for an aged person, who is unable to provide for himself, to request his family to put him to death; and the request is complied with, or he is treated with much neglect. But this unnatural conduct results entirely from the pressure of circumstances, and the privations and sufferings to which those poor people are exposed; for in more favourable situations they behave towards the aged and infirm with respect and tenderness.

Of the religion of the Indians we have no full and clear account. Indeed, of the opinions of a people who have nothing more than a few vague and indefinite notions, no distinct explanation can be given. On this subject the Indians are not communicative; and to obtain a thorough knowledge of it would require familiar, attentive, unsuspected, and unprejudiced observation. But such observation is not easily made; and a few general, and on some points uncertain, notices only can be given.

On looking at the most renowned nations of the ancient heathen world, we see the people prostrating themselves before innumerable divinities; and we are ready to conclude that polytheism is the natural belief of man, unenlightened by revelation. But a survey of the vast wilds of America will correct this opinion. For there we find a multitude of nations, widely separated from each other, all believing in One Supreme God, a great and good spirit, the father and master of life, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all other creatures. They believe themselves entirely dependent on him, thank him for present enjoyments, and pray to

him for the good things they desire to obtain. They consider him the author of all good; and believe he will reward or punish them according to their deeds.

They believe in inferior spirits also, both good and bad; to whom, particularly to the good, they give the name of *Manitou*, and consider them tutelary spirits. The Indians are careful observers of dreams, and think themselves deserted by the Master of life, till they receive a manitou in a dream; that is, till they dream of some object, as a buffalo or beaver, or something else, which they think is an intimation that the Great Spirit has given them that object as a manitou, or medicine. Then they are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally. To propitiate the manitou, or medicine, every exertion is made, and every personal consideration sacrificed. "I was lately the proprietor of seventeen horses," said a Mandan; "but I have offered them all to my medicine, and am now poor." He had turned all these horses, which constituted the whole of his wealth, loose into the plain, committed them to his medicine, and abandoned them for ever. But, although they offer oblations to the manitous, they positively deny that they pay them any adoration, and affirm that they only worship the Great Spirit through them.

They have no regular periodical times either of private or public religious worship. They have neither temples, altars, stated ministers of religion, nor regular sacrifices; for the jugglers are connected rather with the medical art than with religious services. The Indians in general, like other ignorant people, are believers in witchcraft, and think many of their diseases proceed from the arts of sorcerers. These arts the jugglers pretend to counteract, as well as to cure natural diseases. They also pretend to predict the weather and to make rain; and much confidence is placed in their prognostications and their power.

The devotional exercises of the Indians consist in singing, dancing, and performing various mystical ceremonies, which they believe efficacious in healing the

sick, frustrating the designs of their enemies, and securing their own success. They often offer up to the Great Spirit a part of the game first taken in a hunting expedition, a part of the first produce of their fields, and a part of their food. At a feast, they first throw some of the broth, and then of the meat, into the fire. In smoking, they generally testify their reverence for the Master of life, by directing the first puff upwards and the second downwards, or the first to the rising, and the second to the setting sun: at other times they turn the pipe to every point of the compass.

They firmly believe in the immortality of the soul, and in a state of future retribution: but their conceptions on these subjects are modified and tinged by their occupations in life, and by their notions of good and evil. They suppose the spirit retains the same inclinations as when in the body, and rejoices in its old pursuits. At times, an Indian warrior, when about to kill and scalp a prostrate enemy, addresses him in such terms as the following: —

"My name is Cashegra: I am a famous warrior, and am going to kill you. When you reach the land of spirits, you will see the ghost of my father: tell him it was Cashegra sent you there." The uplifted tomahawk then descends upon his victim.

The Mandans expect, when they die, to return to the original subterraneous abode of their fathers: the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the weight of the sins of the bad will render them unable to pass. They who have behaved themselves well in this life, and been brave warriors and good hunters, will be received into the town of brave and generous spirits; but the useless and selfish will be doomed to reside in the town of poor and useless spirits.

The belief of those untutored children of nature has an influence on their conduct. Among them the grand defect is, an erroneous estimate of good and evil, right and wrong. But how much soever we may lament their

errors on these interesting points, we need not be surprised at them; for how many, even in more enlightened communities, and with clearer means of information, can scarcely be said to have sounder principles or a better practice? A reverential and grateful sense of the divine perfections and government, manifesting itself by a devout regard to his institutions, and obedience to his will, by benevolence, integrity, candour, and kindness towards men, and by sobriety and industry, is too little valued and practised by many who enjoy the light of revelation. Hitherto the Indians have learned little but vice by their intercourse with white men.

Although they have no regular system of religious worship, yet they have many superstitious notions; some of them of a more general, others of a more local nature. The Mandans have their medicine stone, which is their great oracle; and they believe with implicit confidence whatever it announces. Every spring, and occasionally during summer, a deputation, accompanied by jugglers, magicians, or conjurers, visits the sacred spot, where there is a large stone, about twenty feet in circumference, with a smooth surface: there the deputies smoke, taking a few whiffs themselves, and then ceremoniously offering the pipe to the stone. They leave their presents, and withdraw to some distance during the night. Before morning the presents have disappeared, the Great Spirit having, according to their belief, taken them away; and they read the destinies of their nation in some marks on the stone, which the jugglers, who have made them, and secretly managed the whole transaction, can easily decipher. The Minnetarees have also a stone of the same kind.

On the northern bank of the lower part of the Missouri there is a singular range of rocks, rising almost perpendicularly about 200 or 300 feet above the level of the river. These rocks the Indians call *Manitou;* and on or near them the neighbouring nations deposit most of their offerings to the Great Spirit or Father of Life; because they imagine he either inhabits or fre-

quently visits those rocks, and offerings presented there will sooner attract his notice and gain his favour than any where else. Those offerings consist of various articles, among which eagles' feathers are held in highest estimation; and they are presented in order to obtain success in war or hunting.

They believe also in the existence of evil spirits; but think these malevolent beings gratify their malignity chiefly by driving away the game, preventing the efficacy of medicine, or similar injuries. But they do not always confine their operations to such petty mischiefs; for Mackenzie, in his first voyage, was warned of a *manitou*, or spirit, behind a neighbouring island, which swallowed up every person who approached it: and, near the White Stone river of the Missouri there is an oblong mound, about seventy feet high, called by the Indians the Mountain of Little People or Little Spirits, which are supposed to be malignant beings in human shape, about eighteen inches high, with remarkably large heads. They are provided with sharp arrows, in the use of which they are very expert; and they are always on the watch to kill those who approach the mountain of their residence. The tradition is that many persons have fallen victims to their malevolence; and such is the terror of them among the neighbouring nations, that on no consideration will they approach the mound.

Among the Indians, society is in the loosest state in which it can possibly exist. They have no regular magistrates, no laws, no tribunals, to protect the weak or punish the guilty. Every man must assert his own rights, and avenge his own wrongs. He is neither restrained nor protected by any thing but a sense of shame and the approbation or disapprobation of his tribe. He acknowledges no master, and submits to no superior authority; so that an Indian community seems like a mound of sand on the sea-shore, which one gale has accumulated, and which the next may disperse.

But, amidst this apparent disunion, the Indian is

strongly attached to his nation. He is jealous of its honour, proud of its success, and zealous for its welfare. Guided by a few traditionary notions, and by the opinion and example of those around him, he is ready to exert all his energies, and sacrifice even life itself for his country. Here sentiment and habit do more than wise laws can elsewhere accomplish.

Where all are equally poor, the distinctions founded on wealth cannot exist; and among a people where experience is the only source of knowledge, the aged men are naturally the sages of the nation. Surrounded by enemies, and exposed to continual peril, the strongest, boldest, and most successful warrior, is highly respected; and the influence gained in youth by courage and enterprise is often retained in old age by wisdom and eloquence. In many of the tribes, the *sachems* or chiefs have a sort of hereditary rank; but, in order to maintain it, they must conciliate the good will of the most influential persons of the community. They have nothing like monarchical revenues, pomp, or authority; but maintain their distinction by bravery, good conduct, and generosity.

The most important concerns of the tribe are discussed in a council composed of the chiefs and warriors, in which the principal chief presides. Every member delivers his opinion with freedom, and is heard with attention. Their proceedings are considered sacred, and are kept a profound secret, unless it be thought the public good requires a disclosure. In that case the decision, with the reasons on which it is founded, is published by a member of the council, who recommends a compliance with it. In the stillness of the morning or evening this herald marches through the village, solemnly communicating the information, and giving suitable exhortations. He also instructs the young men and children how to behave, in order to gain the esteem of good men, and the approbation of the Good Spirit.

The authority of the chiefs and warriors is hortatory rather than coercive. They have influence to persuade,

but not power to compel. They are rather respected as parents and friends, than feared and obeyed as superiors. The chief is merely the most confidential person among the warriors; neither installed with any ceremony, nor distinguished by any badge. He may recommend, or advise, or influence; but he has no power to enforce his commands, or to punish disobedience. In many of the tribes he gradually acquires his rank by his own superior merit, and the good opinion of his companions; and he may lose his authority as he gained it.

The people commonly settle their controversies among themselves, and do not apply to their chiefs, except for advice. In some of the tribes peace is preserved and punishment inflicted in a very summary manner by officers appointed by the chief for that purpose. These officers are distinguished by having their bodies blackened, and by having two or three ravens' skins fixed in their girdles behind, so that the tails project horizontally. They have also a raven's skin, with the tail projecting from their forehead. These officers, of whom there are two or three in a village, and who are frequently changed, beat any person whom they find acting in a disorderly manner. Their authority is held sacred, and none dares resist them. They often attend the chief, and consider it a point of honour to execute his orders at any risk.

The eloquence of the Indian orators occasionally displays itself in strong and figurative expressions, accompanied with violent but not unnatural gesticulations. Many of their speeches are on record; and we shall give two of them, as a specimen of the manner in which these untaught children of nature express themselves.

The first is that of Logan. In the year 1774, the family of Logan, a distinguished chief, who had always been friendly to white men, was inhumanly massacred by a detachment of Virginia militia, acting under British authority. Logan was highly exasperated, and joined the hostile tribes. The Indians were defeated, and compelled to sue for peace. But Logan scorned to be seen

among the suppliants. Lest, however, the sincerity of a treaty from which such an eminent chief absented himself should be suspected, he sent the following speech, by general Gibson, to lord Dunmore, governor of the province:—"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his lodge, the advocate of peace. Such was my love of the whites, that my countrymen pointed at me as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Last spring, colonel Cresap, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not think mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. Logan will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn the death of Logan? Not one."

The second speech is that of a Pawnee chief, named Sharitarouish; and we introduce it merely because it is one of the latest which we remember, having been addressed to the president of the United States, in council, on the 4th of February, 1822; and because the chief who delivered it, on account of his remote situation, could have had little intercourse with white men, having been, along with other chiefs, conducted from the banks of the Platte to Washington by major O'Fallon, agent of the States among the Indians of the Missouri. He spoke to the president as follows:—

"My great father, I have travelled a great way to see you: I have seen you, and my heart rejoices. I have heard your words: they have entered one ear, and shall not escape by the other. I will carry them to my people as pure as they came from your mouth.

"My great father, I am going to speak the truth. The Great Spirit looks down upon us; and I call him to witness all that may pass between us on this occasion. If I am here now, and have seen your people, your houses, your vessels on the big lake, and a great many wonderful things, far beyond my comprehension, which appear to have been made by the Great Spirit, and placed in your hands, I am indebted to my father here (pointing to major O'Fallon), who invited me from home, and under whose wings I have been protected. Yes, my great father, I have travelled with your chief; I have followed him, and trodden in his tracks. But there is still another great Father, to whom I am much indebted. He is the Father of us all. He made us, and placed us on this earth. I feel grateful to the Great Spirit for strengthening my heart for such an undertaking, and for preserving the life which he gave me. The Great Spirit made us all. He made my skin red, and yours white. He placed us on this earth, and intended that we should live differently from each other. He made the whites to cultivate the earth, and feed on domestic animals; but he made us red skins to rove through the uncultivated woods and plains, to feed on wild animals, and to clothe ourselves with their skins. He intended also that we should go to war, take scalps, steal horses from our enemies, and triumph over them, and that we should cultivate peace at home, and promote the happiness of each other. I believe there are no people, of any colour, on earth, who do not believe in the Great Spirit, and in rewards and punishments. We worship Him: but we worship him not as you do. We differ from you in appearance and manners, as well as in our customs; and we differ from you in our religion. We have no large houses, as you have, to worship the Great Spirit in. If we had them to-day, we should want them to-morrow; for we have not, like you, a fixed habitation. We have no settled home, except our villages, where we remain but two moons in twelve. We, like the animals, rove through the country; while you whites reside between us and heaven.

But still, my great father, we love the Great Spirit; we acknowledge his supreme power. Our peace, health, and happiness depend upon him; and our lives belong to him. He made us, and he can destroy us.

"My great father, some of your good chiefs, as they are called (the missionaries), have proposed to send some of their good people among us, to change our habits, to make us work, and live like the white people. I will not tell a lie; I am going to speak the truth. You love your country; you love your people; you love the manner in which they live; and you think your people brave. I am like you, my great father: I love my country; I love my people; I love the manner in which we live; and I think myself and my warriors brave. Spare me, then, my father; let me enjoy my country, and pursue the buffalo and the beaver, and other wild animals; and with their skins I will trade with your people. I have grown up, and lived thus long, without working: I hope you will suffer me to die without it. We have plenty of buffalo, beaver, deer, and other wild animals; we have also abundance of horses; we have every thing we want; we have plenty of land, if you will keep your people off it. My father (major O'Fallon) has a piece of land, on which he lives (Council Bluffs), and we wish him to enjoy it: we have enough without it. We wish him to live near us, to give us good counsel, to keep our ears and eyes open, that we may continue to pursue the right road, the road to happiness. He settles all differences between us and the whites, and between the red skins themselves. He makes the red skins do justice to the whites; he saves the effusion of human blood; and preserves peace and happiness in the land. You have already sent us a father. It is enough. He knows us, and we know him: we have confidence in him; we keep our eye constantly upon him; and since we have heard your words we will listen more attentively to his.

"It is too soon, my great father, to send these good men among us. We are not starving yet; we wish you to permit us to enjoy the chase until the game of

our country be exhausted; until the wild animals become extinct. Let us exhaust our present resources, before you make us toil and interrupt our happiness. Let me continue to live as I have done; and after I have passed to the Good or Evil Spirit from off the wilderness of my present life, the subsistence of my children may become so precarious as to need and embrace the assistance of those good people.

"There was a time when we did not know the whites. Our wants were then fewer than they are now; they were always within our control; we had seen nothing which we could not get. Before our intercourse with the whites, who have caused such a destruction in our game, we could lie down to sleep, and when we awoke, we found the buffalo feeding round our camp: but now we kill them for their skins, and feed the wolves with their flesh, to make our children cry over their bones.

"Here, my great father, is a pipe, which I present you, as I am accustomed to present pipes to all the red skins in peace with us. It is filled with such tobacco as we were accustomed to smoke before we knew the white people. It is pleasant, and the spontaneous growth of the most remote parts of our country. I know that the robes, leggins, moccasins, bear-claws, and other articles, are of little value to you; but we wish you to deposit and preserve them in some conspicuous part of your lodge, so that when we are gone and the sod turned over our bones, if our children should visit this place, as we do now, they may see and recognise with pleasure the deposits of their fathers, and reflect on the times that are past."

The form of government among the Indian tribes is not sufficiently strong to restrain the young warriors from the commission of excesses and outrages, which often involve the nation in protracted wars; and the chiefs, desirous as they may be of checking those impetuous and refractory spirits, have not the power.

Their wars most commonly originate in the stealing of horses, or in the elopement of squaws; sometimes in

encroachments on their hunting grounds, or in the prosecution of old quarrels, and the desire of avenging the murder of relations. These wars are conducted in a predatory manner.

A single warrior sometimes undertakes an expedition against the enemy; but, in cases of great provocation, the whole tribe engages in the enterprise, under the conduct of the principal chief. Even in this case, however, none but volunteers join the army: no one is obliged to march against his will.

War is often carried on by a small predatory party, formed by the influence of some approved warrior. This warrior paints himself with white clay, and marches through the village, crying aloud to the *Wahconda*, or *Father of life*, and entreating the young warriors of the nation to have pity on him, and to accompany him in an expedition against their enemies. He gives a feast to those who are willing to follow him; and it is distinctly understood that they who partake of his hospitality pledge themselves to be partners in his enterprise. At the feast he harangues them, and tells them they must gain celebrity by their martial prowess. This leader of the party, to whom the French gave the name of partisan, busies himself, before setting out, in making medicine, hanging out his medicine bag, fasting, attending to his dreams, and other superstitious observances. On the medicine bag much reliance is placed for the successful termination of the adventure. It usually contains the skin of a sparrow-hawk, and a number of small articles, such as wampum beads and tobacco, all attached to a belt, neatly enveloped in bark, and tied round with strings of the same material. It is of a cylindrical shape, about one, or sometimes two feet long, and is suspended on the back of the partisan by its belt, which passes round his neck. The moccasins, leggins, and arms of the party are put in order, and each warrior furnishes himself with some provisions.

With the partisan at their head, the party set out, march cautiously, following each other in a line, at a

distance of two or three paces, often treading in each other's footsteps, that their number may not be discovered; and they send out spies to explore their route. They easily find out whether any persons have lately passed the same way, by discerning their footsteps on the grass; and as they have to deal with people whose organs of sense are as acute as their own, they are careful, as far as possible, to conceal their own tracks. On halting, the medicine bag is not allowed to touch the ground, but is suspended on a forked stick, firmly fixed in the earth for that purpose. They smoke to it, occasionally turning the stem of the pipe towards it, towards the heavens, and towards the earth. The partisan carefully attends to his dreams, and, if he think them ominous of evil, he at times abandons the enterprise.

When the spies bring information that they are near the enemy, the partisan opens his medicine bag, removes its barky envelope, and suspends the contents from his neck, with the bird skin, wampum, and other articles, hanging down on his breast. This is the signal to prepare for action. If they have time, they paint themselves and smoke: they also paint their shields with rude representations of the objects on which they rely for success. The partisan gives the order to advance, and they move on with cautious steps, as their great aim is to fall upon the enemy by surprise. If they succeed in this, the attack begins with the horrible yell of the war whoop. This is their only martial music. They kill indiscriminately all who fall in their way; but if discovered, they either make a hasty retreat, or rush to the attack with impetuous but disorderly fury. If in the forest, they shelter themselves behind trees; if on open ground, they leap nimbly from side to side, to prevent the enemy from taking a steady aim, and cover themselves with their bucklers.

It is not the mere killing of an enemy that confers the highest honour on an Indian warrior, but the striking the body of his fallen foe on the field of battle, and in presence of his friends, who are eager to avenge his

death. Scalping is an act of no small celebrity in Indian warfare; and, in performing it, the victor sets one foot on the neck of his dead or disabled enemy, entwines one hand in his hair, and, by a few slashes of the scalping knife in his other, round the top of the head, is enabled to pull off the skin with the hair. Carrying away the scalp is simply a mark of victory: the taking of prisoners is reckoned a high honour.

The wounded of the vanquished party are killed by the conquerors on the field of battle, and their bodies shockingly mangled; the squaws so far overcoming by habit the tender feelings of the female breast as to take an active part in the inhuman scene.

In his lodge, the Indian is indolent, sedate, and apparently callous; but in hunting, or in quest of an enemy, he is keen, indefatigable, persevering: on the field of battle he seems an infuriated demon: so different are his appearances in different circumstances. The victorious party bury their dead, or cover them with bushes or stones. They remove their wounded in litters, borne on men's shoulders; or, if they have horses, on a car of two shafts, with a buffalo skin stretched between them. They return rapidly to their village, and commonly halt on some elevated ground in its vicinity. Their friends, eager to be informed of the particulars of the expedition, hasten to meet them. The party enters the village with savage pomp, ostentatiously exhibiting the scalps which they have taken raised on poles. Many of the warriors bear the mark indicative of having drunk the blood of an enemy. This consists in rubbing the hand all over with vermilion, and then pressing it on the face and mouth, so as to leave a complete impression. On those occasions, the wives of the warriors who have been engaged in the enterprise attire themselves in the dress of their husbands, and, with rods in their hands, to which the scalps that have been taken are attached, dance round a large red post, and, in concert with the young warriors, sing the war and scalp songs. This barbarous dance, which is repeated every night for some weeks, is charming to the

squaws; a circumstance which shows how far the human character may be perverted by fashion and habit.

The Indians dance and sing at the same time: they have, however, but little grace or variety in their movements, and little music in their notes. Their musical instruments are a sort of drum, and a rattle or skin bag, with small shot or pebbles in it, which makes a noise when shaken.

It is dangerous to meet a disappointed or defeated war party on its return, as the warriors are apt to indemnify themselves for any disappointment, defeat, or loss they may have sustained, by taking the property and scalps of the first weak or unguarded party they may encounter.

No offence against society is enquired into by the chiefs: stealing from one of their own tribe, which is very rare, exposes the thief to contempt; but cowardice is marked by the highest reprobation. When they go to war they keep a watchful eye on such of the young men as are making their first essay in arms. If they display the necessary qualifications, they are in due time admitted to the rank of warriors, or, as they express it, of brave men. But if any give clear indications of cowardice, on the return of the party they are treated with neglect and contempt. A coward is at times punished even with death.

The female prisoners are made slaves, a condition scarcely worse than that of the other squaws. The young male prisoners are often adopted by the families of the tribe which have taken them, and supply the place of the members that have fallen in the expedition. Sometimes, on returning to their village, the party show their prisoner a painted red post, distant from twenty to forty yards, and bid him run and lay hold of it. On each side of his course stand men and women with axes, sticks, and other offensive weapons, ready to strike him as he passes. If he instantly spring forward with agility, he may perhaps reach the post without receiving a stroke, and is then safe, till a general council of the

warriors determine his fate; but if he fall, he is probably despatched.

If the prisoner be rejected by the family to which he is offered, he is then put to death with every circumstance of cruelty; and the constancy and fortitude of the sufferer are as remarkable as the barbarity of his murderers. The victim, fastened to a stake, sings his death song, insults his tormentors, bears with unshrinking firmness the most dreadful tortures, and expires without a groan. He triumphs in his fortitude, not merely as a personal virtue, but chiefly as a national characteristic. We are to seek the cause of this patient endurance of the most excruciating pains, not in any nervous insensibility, any constitutional apathy, any muscular rigidity of the Indian, but in the sentiments which he has imbibed and the habits to which he has been trained. He has been taught, from infancy, to consider courage and fortitude as the glory of man; to endure privations and pain without a murmur, and with an unsubdued heart, and to despise tortures and death; and, in his last moments, he proves the efficacy of the education which he has received. In these tragical scenes the women often take an active part; and their inhumanity, like the fortitude of the men, springs from education.

Previous to their intercourse with Europeans, the arms of the Indians were bows and arrows, spears, tomahawks, scalping knives, and war clubs. Many of them, however, are now provided with fire arms; and, being eager to procure them, their quantity is continually increasing. But hitherto the use of these original weapons is far from being entirely superseded.

At times the bow is formed of pieces of horn neatly spliced, but it is more commonly made of wood. Formerly the arrow was ppinted with flint or bone, but now generally with iron: the spear is pointed in a similar manner. The tomahawk is a hatchet or war axe. The scalping knife is used to cut and tear off the scalp, or integuments of the upper part of the skull with

the hair, of their fallen enemies, which the Indians display as trophies of their victory, with as much exultation as ancient heroes manifested in showing the arms of their vanquished foes. The head of the war club is globular, and at times hollow, inclosing pieces of metal, which make a gingling noise when a stroke is given. Occasionally, the blade of a knife, or some other sharp instrument, is fastened to the end of it at right angles. The tribes who dwell in the depth of the forest have no bucklers, but shelter themselves behind trees: those, however, who live in an open country, as on the banks of the Missouri, use bucklers or shields of a circular form, about two feet and a half in diameter, and composed of three or four folds of buffalo's skin, dried in the sun and hardened. These shields are proof against arrows, but not against ball.

In all their acts of devotion, and on all occasions where their confidence is to be won or their friendship secured, smoking is regarded as an inviolable token of sincerity.

The pipe or calumet, as some have called it, is the symbol of peace and the pledge of friendship. Among the rude dwellers of the desert, it serves the same purposes as a flag of truce in the armies of more civilised communities. The pipe is about four feet long; the bowl made of stone or clay, and the stem of a light wood. It is differently ornamented in different nations. The bearer of this sacred symbol of friendship is never treated with disrespect, because they believe the Great Spirit would not allow such an iniquity to escape with impunity.

Peace is concluded, and treaties ratified, by smoking. Wampum, and wampum belts, are also commonly used on such occasions. Wampum, the current coin of the Indians, is formed of shells found on the coasts of New England and Virginia: some of those shells are of a purple colour, others white, but the former are reckoned most valuable. They are cut into the shape of oblong beads, about a quarter of an inch long, perforated, and

strung on a small leathern thong: several of these strings, neatly sewed together by fine sinewy threads, form a belt, consisting of ten, twelve, or more strings. The value of each bead, and, consequently, of each string or belt, is exactly known. The size of the belt, which is often about two feet long, and three or four inches broad, is proportioned to the solemnity and importance of the occasion on which it is given. The chiefs occasionally give strings to each other as tokens of friendship; but belts are reserved for the ratification of national treaties, every stipulation of which is recorded to posterity by the hieroglyphics on the belt.

Tribes in amity occasionally apply to each other for a supply of their wants. When one tribe is in need of any commodity with which another is well provided, the needy tribe send a deputation of their number to smoke with their wealthier neighbours, and to inform them of their wants; and it would be a breach of Indian courtesy to send them away without the expected supply. What they smoke is tobacco mixed with the leaves of sumach.

The Shoshonees, a band on the Rocky Mountains, before smoking with strangers, pull off their moccasins, in token of the sacred sincerity of their professions; and by this act they not only testify their sincerity, but also imprecate on themselves the misery of going barefooted for ever, if they prove unfaithful to their word.

A number of different languages are spoken by the Indians; and, in some cases, different dialects of the same language are found among different tribes.

The original languages, besides that of the Esquimaux, are said to be principally three, — the Iroquois, the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware, and the Floridian. These languages are so distinct, as to have no perceivable affinity. The Iroquois was spoken by the Iroquois or Six Nations, and several other tribes. The Iroquois, or Six Confederated Nations, so famous in Indian history, and once so formidable by their numbers, laws, and military prowess, are the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas,

Cayugas, Onandagoes, and Tuscaroras. The Delaware language was spoken by many nations in the middle provinces; and the Floridian by the Creeks, Chactaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other tribes in the southern states. Those languages are said to be copious and expressive: they often consist of long compounds, and comprise many ideas in one word.

In their intercourse with white men the Indians adopt none of their words or names, but apply names of their own invention both to persons and things.

In short, in the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, we find a race of men subsisting by fishing, hunting, and a partial cultivation of the soil. They are brave, active, shrewd, and penetrating; kind to their friends, but vindictive and cruel towards their enemies; capable of making great and persevering exertions, and of enduring the most excruciating torments without a sigh or a groan.

They believe in one Great Spirit, the Creator and Governor of the world, on whom they continually depend, and from whom all their enjoyments flow. Although they have no public or social worship, yet they are grateful to the Great Spirit for past favours, thank him for present enjoyments, and implore from him future blessings: this they sometimes do with an audible voice, but more frequently in the silent aspirations of the heart. They believe in the doctrine of immortality and future retribution; but their conceptions on the subject are vague, and modified by their peculiar manners and habits.

Many attempts have been made to convert them to Christianity, but hitherto with little success. From their intercourse with white men they have derived no advantage: for since the commencement of that intercourse they have improved neither in civilisation nor morality, and many powerful tribes have either totally disappeared, or present only a feeble remnant. The great diminution of their numbers is owing partly to war, partly to the ravages of small-pox, which seem to

have been communicated to them by white men, but, above all, to the destructive effects of intoxicating liquors introduced among them by Europeans, and which have operated like a pestilence among these untutored tenants of the wilderness.

CHAP. III.

SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

The English founded their claims to North America on the discovery of it by John Cabot, a Venetian adventurer settled at Bristol, and his son Sebastian, who sailed in the same squadron, in the year 1498.

But many years elapsed before the English effected any settlement in America. The first attempt was made by sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in the month of June, 1578, obtained a patent from queen Elizabeth, authorising him to plant a colony in that country. Gilbert's project failed: but it was afterwards resumed by his half-brother, the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh, who, in 1584, obtained a patent similar to that which had been granted to Gilbert, and next year planted a colony at the mouth of the Roanoke, naming the country *Virginia*, in honour of his royal mistress. But all these settlers, as well as others who crossed the Atlantic during the next twenty years, either perished by famine and disease, or by the hands of the Indians, or returned to England.

Although the attempt to plant colonies in America had hitherto proved unsuccessful, yet it was not abandoned. Accordingly, in the year 1606, James I. granted letters patent to two companies: the one, composed of adventurers belonging to London, was named the *First*, or *Southern* colony of Virginia, and was ordered to settle between 34° and 41° of latitude; the

other, consisting of merchants belonging to Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, was called the *Second*, or *Northern* colony, and was authorised to make its settlement between 38° and 45°, but at the distance of at least 100 miles from the other colony. The territory granted to the first company was called Virginia, without any distinguishing epithet; but, in the year 1614, the territory assigned to the second company was called *New England*, a name which designated the country on the east of the Hudson.

The first, or London company, sent out 110 emigrants, who, on the 29th of April, 1607, arrived on the coast of Virginia, at a point which, in honour of the prince of Wales, they named Cape Henry. They afterwards formed a settlement on James' River, and founded James' Town.

In the year 1609 many of the nobility and gentry joined the London company, and obtained a new charter in the name of the "Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony of Virginia." The charter bestowed on the company the absolute property of the country for 200 miles to the south of Cape Comfort, and as far to the north of that point, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. Thus, by a few strokes of his pen, and an act of gigantic injustice, the king of England bestowed on a few of his subjects, as a magnificent but uncostly present, about 6° of latitude, and upwards of 50° in longitude, the property of many independent tribes. The vast extent of the grant was not then, indeed, distinctly understood; but this ignorance did not lessen the extravagance and injustice of the pretension of the king of England to deprive so many independent nations of their territorial property, and transfer it to his own people.

The company was empowered to make ordinances for the colony, and for those at sea on their way to it; and was exempted from all subsidies in Virginia for twenty-one years; and from all imposts on goods exported or imported from England, or any other part of the king's

dominions, "excepting the five pounds in the hundred due for customs."

The adventurers, elated by anticipated wealth, fitted out nine ships, provided with every thing deemed necessary for the settlement of a permanent colony. They procured 500 emigrants, although they gave them no adequate encouragement. Only seven of the ships arrived in safety at their place of destination.

By the nature of the country and climate, their own inexperience, their dissensions, the hostility of the natives, and want of provisions, the colonists rapidly disappeared; and of the 500 who had sailed from England, only sixty remained at the end of six months after reaching the American shore. But new emigrants and abundant supplies arrived, under lord Delaware, who had been appointed captain-general for life. His lordship soon re-established order; but his health declining, he was obliged to sail for England early in the year 1611.

On his departure disorder again appeared; but sir Thomas Dale arriving in the month of May, with a new body of emigrants, and cattle and provisions for a year, the colony once more assumed the appearance of prosperity. The adventurers obtained a new charter, which confirmed the two former, and also granted them all the islands in the ocean within 300 leagues of the coast of Virginia. The corporation was also new modelled, and received a license to open lotteries in any part of England, for promoting the interests of the colony, by which they raised 29,000*l.*

Sir Thomas Gates arrived in the colony in the month of August, 1611, and administered its affairs till the beginning of the year 1614; when the government again fell into the hands of sir Thomas Dale, to whom the Virginians owe the introduction of landed property. In 1615 he assigned fifty acres of land to every emigrant and his heirs; but in the beginning of the year 1616 he sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of sir George Yeardley. In the course of

this year the cultivation of tobacco, which had been originally brought from Tobago to England, was introduced into Virginia.

Mr. Argal arrived as deputy-governor in May, 1617, and published various edicts. His government was imprudent and oppressive; and in order to remedy the evils of his administration, the treasurer and council of the corporation appointed sir George Yeardley captain-general of the colony, with power to enquire into grievances and to redress them. Sir George arrived in Virginia in April, 1619, and soon announced his intention of calling a general assembly; a measure which excited much joy among a people who had hitherto been subject to the arbitrary authority of the prince, the selfish edicts of an English corporation, or the capricious orders of a haughty governor, without any of the privileges of freemen.

In the month of June, the captain-general issued writs for the election of delegates. The colony had been divided into seven *hundreds*, or distinct settlements, which seemed to enjoy some of the privileges of boroughs, and hence the assembly of delegates received the name of the House of Burgesses. The governor and council of state, who were appointed by the treasurer and company, and the burgesses who were chosen by the people, met in one chamber, and discussed all matters relating to the interests of the whole community. This improvement in the constitution gave the people much satisfaction. It produced the best effects on the affairs of the colony, and the emigrants began to form more permanent settlements than they had hitherto done.

In the course of this year government ordered the company to transport 100 convicts to Virginia, and these outcasts of society were very acceptable to the colonists. But next year Virginia was disgraced by a viler and more noxious stain, — the introduction of negro slavery. The Dutch were not then prohibited from trading with the British settlements in America; and one of their ships brought to the colony a cargo of negroes from the

coast of Africa. The Virginians, who had but lately escaped from a state of humble vassalage, readily bought these unhappy victims of rapine, and became guilty of enslaving their fellow-men. In every age mankind have exhibited melancholy instances of glaring inconsistency, base selfishness, and ruthless oppression; but the conduct of the colonists on this occasion deserves a prominent place in the ignominious records of wickedness. And even in the progress of civilisation they have not attempted to wipe away the stain which so early disfigured their community; for slavery still continues the disgrace and scourge of the southern states.

But while the Virginians were thus introducing slavery into their colony, their own constitution underwent a change. The treasurer and company decreed that henceforth there should be two councils in the colony: the one nominated by the treasurer and company, and removable at pleasure, was to be called the Council of State, and was to advise the governor in the administration of affairs: the other was to be called the General Assembly, and was to consist of the governor and council, and of two burgesses, chosen by the inhabitants from each town, hundred, or settlement in the colony. The assembly was to enact laws, but the governor was to have a negative. No law was to be in force till confirmed by the general court in England; and no order of the general court was to bind the colony till it received the assent of the assembly.

The company having offered lands to such as chose to emigrate, upwards of 3000 persons passed into the colony. These emigrants took possession of the territory of the Indians, without paying them any price for it, and not even asking their permission to settle there. This naturally gave offence: the Indians meditated revenge; and in the year 1622, by a simultaneous attack on all the settlements, they massacred 347 persons without regard to age, sex, or rank. To the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife the miseries of famine were soon added; and of eighty plantations that were fast filling

up, in a short time no more than eight remained. Only about 1800 of the colonists survived these calamities.

Frequent complaints having been made to king James against the treasurer and company, he required them to surrender their grants; and on their refusal, he brought them before the court of king's bench, which, in 1624, with a courtly complaisance, decided agreeably to his wishes. The king seemed to consider the colonies as his own private property, which he was entitled to manage according to his pleasure; and hence he affected to take them under his own immediate care. Charles I. followed the same arbitrary course. Discontent and confusion ensued; and prosperity departed from the colony.

During the civil wars in England, the Virginians maintained their allegiance to the king; but, in the month of October, 1650, after the parliamentary forces had completely gained the ascendant, a strong armament was sent out to establish the authority of the commonwealth in the colony. With this force the colonists were not in a condition to contend, and therefore they prudently agreed to a capitulation; in which it was stipulated "that the plantation of Virginia, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall enjoy such freedom and privileges as belong to the free people of England; that the general assembly shall convene as formerly; that the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations; that Virginia shall be free from all customs, taxes, and impositions whatsoever, and that none shall be imposed on them without the consent of the general assembly; and that neither forts nor castles shall be erected, nor garrisons maintained, without their consent."

The Virginians, amounting at that time to about 30,000 souls, had a strong predilection for the royal government; and during the protectorship numbers of royalists emigrated to the colony. On the death of Cromwell, they proclaimed Charles II., and were forward in testifying their allegiance to the house of Stuart.

CHAP. IV.

SETTLEMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY. — CONNECTICUT. — RHODE ISLAND. — WITCHCRAFT. — MARYLAND AND NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA. — NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, AND GEORGIA. — CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER.

In the order of time, the settlement of the northern states followed next after that of Virginia. In the year 1614 captain Smith explored the coast with much care between Penobscot and Cape Cod. He presented a chart and description of it to Charles, prince of Wales, who was so well pleased with the country that he called it *New England,* a name which has since been applied to the provinces east of the Hudson. In the year 1620, that country began to be colonised by a number of poor, ignorant, and fanatical zealots; who, inflamed by the mad intolerance of the English government, first passed into Holland, but afterwards emigrated to America. They applied to the Virginia company for a patent, and it was not unwilling to favour their views. They solicited full freedom of conscience, but this the king declined granting under the great seal: he promised, however, not to molest them, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably.

The first band of these poor fanatics, consisting of 101 persons, reached Cape Cod at break of day on the 9th of November, 1620. Observing that they were beyond the limits of the company's patent, they thought themselves released from all superior authority; and therefore, even before landing, they formed themselves into a "civil body politic, under the crown of England, for the purpose of framing just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices," to which they promised all due submission and obedience. Forty-one persons signed this contract.

They settled at a place, which, in affectionate remembrance of the English port from which they had sailed,

they named New Plymouth. The winter, although mild for that climate, was more rigorous than what the emigrants had been accustomed to; and the severity of the weather, with the hardships naturally rising out of their situation, occasioned a great mortality among them. Before the end of March, they buried forty-four of their number; among whom were twenty-one who had signed the contract.

In the beginning of November a ship arrived with thirty-five new settlers from London. This addition to their strength revived their spirits and stimulated their exertions; but, although at an early period they had made friendly arrangements with the Indians for the territory which they occupied, yet they had many difficulties to struggle with, and their number increased but slowly.

In the year 1628, Massachusetts Bay, so named after the *sachem* or chief of that part of the country, was purchased from the Plymouth council, and a company formed for establishing a settlement there. This company, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," received a charter empowering them to make laws and ordinances for the good government of the plantation, not contrary to the laws of the realm. They were exempted from all custom or subsidy for seven years; and from duties on goods exported or imported for twenty-one years, excepting the old five per cent. custom on imports, after the expiration of the seven years.

The first emigrants under this company settled at Salem; but religious dissensions soon disturbed their peace. In a society of ignorant and furious fanatics, each of whom thought himself an oracle of truth and a pattern of excellence, harmony could not long subsist. Of their religious character and intellectual attainments the following is a sample:—"On the 13th of June, 1632, at Waterlen, in the presence of several witnesses, there was a great fight between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long combat, the mouse prevailed and killed

the snake. Mr. Wilson, the minister of Boston, who, we are told, was a very sincere and holy man, gave the following interpretation of the matter. 'The snake,' said he, 'is the devil: the mouse a poor contemptible people, whom God has brought hither, who shall overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom.' At the same time, he told the governor that, before he resolved to come into the country, he dreamed that he was there, and saw a church rise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church."

But fanatical ignorance and habits of industry are not incompatible: they are not unfrequently united; and this was the case in New England, at least after each of the settlers was allowed to reap the fruits of his own exertions. The colony prospered. The arbitrary measures of Charles, and the persecuting principles of Laud, increased the number of the emigrants; and in about twenty years after the first settlement, 4000 families, consisting of upwards of 21,000 souls, passed into New England, in 298 vessels.

The governor and company removed from London to Massachusetts; and, instead of the appearance of a corporation, they soon assumed the form of a commonwealth, departing from the charter as suited their humour or convenience. "They apprehended themselves subject to no other laws or rules of government than what arose from natural reason and the principles of equity, except any positive rules from the word of God." Their religious notions were deeply blended with all their civil proceedings.

The freemen appeared personally in the general court till the month of May, 1634; when, for the first time, and without any authority from the charter, they sent twenty-four deputies as their representatives. These deputies, with the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, formed the legislature of the colony. They met, deliberated, and voted together in one chamber till March, 1644, when it was resolved that the governor

and assistants should sit in a separate apartment. Hence the house of representatives became a distinct body.

As the number of emigrants increased, they spread themselves more widely over the country; and, so early as the year 1635, some families settled on Connecticut river, and formed plantations in different places. The protector treated the New England settlers with much tenderness; and Charles II. gave them charters with extensive powers.

But no external circumstances could impart comfort and happiness to such a people; for the elements of discord and mischief were treasured up in their own fanatical opinions and turbulent tempers.

The love of religious liberty had induced them to abandon their native land, and seek freedom of conscience in the depth of the American wilderness; and in the wilderness their zeal and love of liberty grew up with unpruned luxuriance. In their hands religion became, what popular ignorance and presumption always make it, a sectarian folly, a degrading superstition, or a temporary frenzy. The benevolent, mild, and unostentatious principles of the gospel, a well regulated temper and an upright life, have no charms for popular zeal. It must feast on barren and gloomy speculations, or rapturous transports; or seek gratification in an imposing ritual, a punctilious regard to external observances, or a restless pursuit of novelties.

The New Englanders admitted none to a participation in their civil privileges who were not members of their church communion. Although they had fled from persecution, they became fierce persecutors, and could show no indulgence to any religious folly but their own. They whipped, banished, or imprisoned anabaptists, quakers, and others, as ignorant and foolish as themselves: they measured every thing by the standard of their own capricious imaginations, and could tolerate neither more nor less folly than their own.

Like many other enthusiasts, they entertained a strong predilection for the phraseology and manners of the He-

brews, whose laws they ill understood. Lying, drunkenness, and dancing were punished with public whipping; and for a man to have long hair was considered an abomination, and inconsistent with the care of the soul.

These pitiful fanatics wrangled about grace and free will; and their quibbling disputes ran so high as to threaten the colony with a civil war, had not some tribes of Indians, at that time, fallen upon the angry disputants, and killed numbers of them. A regard to their common safety forced them to suspend the fury of their zeal.

These quarrels, like the confusion of tongues at Babel, were the means of dispersing the settlers more widely over the country; and, among others who left Massachusetts, Mrs. Hutchinson, a celebrated patroness and preacher of what she styled the "*covenant of grace*," and who zealously maintained that sanctity of life was no evidence of a gracious state, led a swarm to Rhode Island, and planted a colony there.

In the year 1692, the frenzy of the colonists reached the highest pitch of extravagance. Suspicions and accusations of witchcraft became general among them; and on this fanciful charge many persons were put to death. This pestilential visitation first showed itself in the town of Salem. An ignorant fanatic, who was minister of a church there, had two daughters subject to convulsions. He fancied they were bewitched; and fixed his suspicions on an Indian girl who lived in the house, as the accomplice and tool of Satan in the matter. By harsh treatment he made the poor savage acknowledge herself a witch. Among a people like the New Englanders, this was throwing a fire-brand into a powder magazine; and the explosion was dreadful. Every woman subject to hysterical affections instantly believed herself bewitched; and was seldom at a loss to discover the guilty cause of her malady. Persons accused of the imaginary crime of witchcraft were imprisoned, condemned, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. Counsellors who refused to plead against these devoted victims, and judges who were not forward in

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condemning them, were doomed to share their fate, as accomplices in their guilt. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young women were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft sought for on their bodies with unblushing curiosity. Scorbutical or other spots on the bodies of old men were reckoned clear proofs of a heinous commerce with infernal powers. Dreams, apparitions, prodigies of every kind, increased the general consternation and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and the citizens were appalled. Under this frightful delirium, the miserable colonists seemed doomed to destruction by each other's hands. The more prudent withdrew from a country polluted by the blood of its inhabitants, and the ruin of the colony seemed inevitable; when, ceasing to receive countenance from those in authority, this awful frenzy passed away, almost as suddenly as it had arisen, leaving to future ages a fearful warning against such popular insanity.

The colonies of New England, although often agitated by internal dissensions, assailed by Indian warfare, or discontented with the government of the parent state, increased in numbers and in strength.

In the month of June, 1632, Charles I. granted to lord Baltimore, a Roman catholic, who enjoyed a large share of royal favour, the country on the north of Chesapeake Bay, and called it *Maryland*, in honour of his queen Henrietta Maria. He empowered his lordship, with the consent of the freemen or their delegates, whom he was bound to assemble for the purpose, to make all necessary laws for the colony, not inconsistent with the laws of England; and authorised him to execute the acts of assembly. There was no clause in the charter binding the colonists to transmit their acts to the king for approbation or dissent. Charles reserved to himself and his heirs for ever, imposts, duties, and customs, which the colonists were bound to pay; but he declared in the same charter, that "we and our heirs and successors shall at no time set and make, or cause to be set, any imposition, custom, or taxation on the inhabitants

of the province for their lands, goods, tenements, or chattels, within the said province."

The first emigrants consisted of 200 gentlemen of considerable fortune, with their adherents, chiefly Roman catholics, who hoped, under a proprietary of their own religious persuasion, to enjoy the liberty of conscience which was denied them in England. They sailed in the month of November, and landed in Maryland early in the year 1633.

Governor Calvert, brother of lord Baltimore, wisely and justly purchased the land from the Indians, and, with their free consent, took possession of their town, which he called St. Mary's. The colony was judiciously governed, and soon became populous and flourishing.

An assembly of freemen was held at St. John's in February, 1639, when an act was passed for establishing the house of assembly. The legislative body was afterwards divided into an upper and a lower house; they who were called by special writ constituting the first, and they who were chosen by the hundreds forming the last.

The popish colony of Maryland afforded a refuge to numbers of puritans, whom their protestant brethren in Virginia could not endure. While the puritans of New England persecuted all who did not embrace their own fanatical notions, and while, in retaliation, the adherents of episcopacy in Virginia showed no indulgence to the puritans, the Roman catholic colony of Maryland set an example of toleration, little practised, at that time, even in protestant communities.

The civil wars in England were the occasion of considerable disturbances in Maryland; but, notwithstanding the commotions which agitated the colony, it still increased, and at the restoration its population was estimated at 12,000 souls. Slavery was early admitted into Maryland.

Carolina, which in order of settlement follows next after Maryland, owes its origin to the rapacity of the

courtiers of Charles II., and to the facility of that monarch in rewarding his favourites and tools with a liberality which cost him nothing. About the time of the restoration, indeed, a few restless adventurers from Massachusetts had settled round Cape Fear; but, in the year 1663, Charles, who had no religion, on pretence of a pious zeal for propagating the gospel among the Indians, granted to a few of his courtiers, under the name of the province of Carolina, the extensive region, in America, lying between 36° and 31° north latitude. The grant was afterwards somewhat enlarged both to the south and north, and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The charter appears to have been copied from that of Maryland, and invested the proprietors with very extensive powers.

In 1680, Charlestown was founded on Oyster Point, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper. It was long unhealthy; but since the adjacent country has been cleared and cultivated, it is as salubrious as any other part of the province.

A system of laws for the government of the colony was framed by the celebrated Locke; but those laws did not give satisfaction, and were at last abrogated. There was much discontent and quarrelling in the province, owing partly to the misconduct of persons in authority, and partly to the restless and turbulent character of the settlers.

In the year 1728 an Indian war broke out, in which the savages were supported by the French and Spaniards. The proprietors, finding themselves unable to maintain the contest, resolved to surrender their charter to the crown. They surrendered it accordingly; and in 1735 Carolina was divided into two provinces, North and South, and each put under its own governor.

New York and New Jersey were first planted by the Dutch, who called them the New Netherlands. Their chief settlement was on the island of Manhattan or New York. But in 1664 Charles II. granted to his brother the duke of York the country extending from the west

bank of the river Connecticut to the eastern bank of the Delaware, with the power of civil and military government. An officer, with a suitable naval and military force, was sent out to carry the grant into effect; and the Dutch, unprepared for a struggle, were easily subdued.

In 1673, the Dutch government, by a sudden attack, gained possession of the place, but resigned it to the English by the peace of the following year. The grant to the duke of York was renewed; and for almost twenty years the colony was governed according to the will of his deputies. But in 1682 the duke admitted the people to a share in the legislative power. This concession, however, he refused to ratify on his accession to the throne; and during his short reign he governed the colony as a conquered province.

After the revolution in England, some commotions happened in New York; and Jacob Leister, a man of no education, who had usurped the supreme authority, was tried and executed as a traitor.

William Penn, the celebrated quaker, who had acquired joint property in the western parts of the Jerseys, and who was as attentive to his private interests as to his religious notions, became desirous of acquiring a separate right to the territory on the west of the Delaware. Accordingly, in 1680, he applied to Charles II., stated his claims, alleged that he had been deprived of a debt due to him by the crown, and prayed that, as a compensation, he might receive a grant of the lands lying north of Maryland, and west of the Delaware. He succeeded in his application, and received a charter, in which it was declared, "that no custom or other contribution shall be laid on the inhabitants or their estates unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or *by act of parliament in England.*" Penn was empowered to assemble the freemen or their delegates, in such form as he should think proper, for raising money for the use of the colony, and

for making useful laws, not contrary to the laws of England, or to the rights of the kingdom.

The clause subjecting the inhabitants of Pennsylvania to taxation by act of parliament, which had not been introduced into any of the former colonial charters, while it seemed to furnish an argument against such taxation in the other provinces, was considered in England as rendering the colony of Pennsylvania inexcusable in not yielding implicit submission to acts of parliament imposing taxes on it. But the clause was not so understood in America. For when, at the time of the Stamp Act, Dr. Franklin was examined by the house of commons on the point, his answer was, "The people of Pennsylvania understand the matter thus: by the same charter, and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen. But they find in the Great Charter and Petition and Declaration of Rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their own consent: they have, therefore, relied upon it, from the first settlement, that the parliament never would or could, by colour of that clause, tax them, till it had qualified itself for the exercise of such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed."

Dr. Franklin's representation of the sentiments of the colonists was correct. For even so far back as 1698, governor Nicholson of Maryland, in a letter to the board of plantation, said, "I have observed that a great many people in all these provinces and colonies, especially those under proprietaries, and the two others under Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that no law of England ought to be in force and binding to them without their consent; for they foolishly say that they have no representatives sent from themselves to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws made in England that put any restraint upon them to be great hardships."

Penn paid a proper attention to the rights of the Indians, and satisfied them for the territory of which he

took possession; but this transaction was dictated by an interested policy rather than by the love of equity. For in other instances he showed himself no way scrupulous about the rights of others, provided he could forward his own views. He was much attached to James II., and seems to have had considerable interest with that royal bigot, whom he importuned for a grant of the Delaware colony, although both he and James were perfectly aware that lord Baltimore had a legal claim to that territory. But he was successful in his application; and obtained the town of Newcastle, with a territory of twelve miles round, and the tract of land extending southward on the Delaware to Cape Henlopen. Without any regard to the claims of lord Baltimore, he immediately assumed the rights of jurisdiction; which led to a discussion productive of considerable irritation and inconveniency to both.

At the revolution, Penn was considered a devoted adherent of James, and for a time was excepted in the acts of grace published by William and Mary. But in 1696 he had again so far ingratiated himself at court as to be restored to his right of nominating a governor.

Pennsylvania, like most of the other colonies, was occasionally much agitated by internal dissensions. The foundation of Philadelphia, the capital of the province, was laid about the end of the year 1682.

The Delaware colony, at one time named the *Territories*, consisted of the three counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, commonly called *The Three Lower Counties on the Delaware.*

The representatives of Pennsylvania and of the Territories at one time met together; but having disagreed and separated, all attempts to re-unite them proved ineffectual.

The contest between lord Baltimore and Mr. Penn was referred to the committee of plantations, who decided that the peninsula between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be divided into two equal parts, by a line drawn from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to

the fortieth degree, and adjudged that the lands lying from that line towards the Delaware should belong to the king, and the other half to lord Baltimore. This adjudication was ordered to be immediately executed.

Georgia, the southernmost of the thirteen states, began to be planted in 1732. In that year a number of gentlemen obtained from the crown a grant of the territory between the Savannah and Alatamaha. They intended it as a bulwark, on the southern frontier, against the incursions of the Spaniards; and also as a means of settling numbers of people, who were burdensome at home to their friends and parishes. Under the name of Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, the adventurers were constituted a corporation for twenty-one years; and after the expiration of that term, the governor and all officers were to be appointed by the crown.

The infant colony was encouraged and supported by the bounty of government, and by the liberality of individuals. The first settlers reached the place of their destination early in 1733, and in the month of February of that year began to build the first house of the town of Savannah. The colonists entered into a treaty with the Creek nation, and were thus saved from the dangers of Indian hostility. In 1742, Georgia was invaded by about 5000 Spaniards, aided by Indian auxiliaries; but the attack was foreseen and bravely repelled.

From the preceding sketch, it is established that the American colonies were originally formed by persons of very different sentiments, characters, and habits; and, being spread along the coast over an extent of twenty degrees of latitude, the variety of climate, soil, and employment, contributed to increase the original difference of character, and to modify the bodily figure and constitution of the colonists. The colonies were classed under three great divisions, — the Northern, the Middle, and the Southern. The Northern, or New England States, lie to the east of the Hudson or North River, and comprehend New Hampshire, Massachusetts

Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In point of soil, this is the least fertile part of the Union; but it is also most populous. The land produces excellent timber, and the coast abounds with fish. Connecticut is the most fertile of these provinces, and produces cattle and grain in profusion. The people of New England are generally healthy and vigorous; active, enterprising, and penetrating, with a sort of dexterity bordering on cunning. They are shrewd and selfish, without any of that generosity of sentiment or conduct which often characterises men of a more liberal education or more extensive intercourse with the world. Many of them are more or less engaged in trade or commerce.

The middle states are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the three lower counties on the Delaware, namely, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. The soil is like that of Connecticut. The inhabitants are employed in agriculture, pasturage, and commerce. The farmers are robust, industrious, and persevering; frugal in their habits and honest in their dealings, but rude and uncomplaisant in their manners.

Virginia, Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, constitute the southern states. Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina produce much tobacco; South Carolina and Georgia yield indigo and rice. The inhabitants are of a pallid complexion and slender form. Unaccustomed to labour, they live in an easy and luxurious manner, and are hospitable to strangers. Their plantations or farms are cultivated chiefly by African slaves, under the inspection of overseers. In the middle states there are few slaves; in the northern, scarcely any.

Such were the thirteen states of the American Union at the period of the establishment of their independence. Other states have been formed and added at different intervals. But our account of these will more appropriately appear in the progress of this history.

At an early period the French had made settlements near the river St. Lawrence; but their colonies did not increase so rapidly as those of the English: and, as

nations often set an undue value on distant colonial possessions, they looked with a jealous eye on the growing prosperity of their neighbours. These remote dependencies were always more or less involved in the quarrels between the parent states; and their mutual hostilities could not fail to prove injurious to both. Such or similar considerations led to the wars of 1739 and 1755; in the last of which Canada became a part of the British empire.

In the course of the two wars, the last of which terminated in 1763, the colonists manifested much patriotism, and made very great exertions; and the struggle, which had been so unpropitious in the commencement, terminated in the almost total expulsion of the French from America; and the British government fondly imagined that, after the removal of French power from their immediate neighbourhood, the colonies would enjoy a course of prosperous tranquillity, and be able liberally to contribute to the expenses of the parent state. The vicinity of the French had kept the colonists in awe, and made them depend on Britain for support and protection. When the danger was removed, the sense of dependence was weakened; and in proportion as they felt themselves secure from foreign aggression, they became more turbulent, less disposed to submit to the pretensions of the mother-country, and unwilling to recognise that dependence which was then very generally supposed to be inherent in every colonial establishment.

CHAP. V.

CONGRESS OF SETTLERS AT MASSACHUSETTS BAY. — OPINIONS ON TAXATION. — ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. — BILL FOR TAXING THE COLONIES. — STAMP DUTIES IMPOSED — RESISTED.

THE colonists, as we have seen, were originally of very different characters and sentiments. The inhabitants of

the several provinces were settled far from each other, in the bosom of immense forests, and on the banks of their respective rivers. But a sense of danger and community of interest soon formed a slender bond of union among the widely scattered and discordant population; and the turbulent and fanatical settlers of Massachusetts Bay were the first to suggest measures for mutual defence, and the general welfare of the provinces. A congress for those purposes met so early as the month of May, 1690; and similar assemblies were afterwards occasionally convened. These were the means of making the inhabitants of the provinces a little known to each other, and of creating something like an American sentiment and sympathy. But many countervailing circumstances appear to have prevented the colonies from entering into any confederacy dangerous to the mother-country. They were in their infancy; far scattered along the coast of an extensive continent; differing from each other in their political views and religious opinions: their attachments and prejudices, in so far as related to America, were all provincial, and in no degree national: they were all well affected to the parent-state, and so alienated from each other by clashing interests and rivalships in commerce, that no one could have suspected that their affections could be entirely weaned from the mother-country, and that this heterogeneous mass would ever be consolidated into one harmonious political body.

The colonists, indeed, had early expressed the opinion that they ought not to be taxed but by their own general courts; and that all imposts by an English parliament, in which they were not represented, was an intolerable grievance. The only legitimate ground on which a government can claim dominion over such of its subjects as have migrated to a distant land is the expense it has incurred in settling and protecting them. Allegiance and protection are reciprocal: when the last ceases, the obligation to the first can no longer exist. The colonists, for the most part, had emigrated and settled at their own expense. They, indeed, had received grants from

the crown; but in these grants the crown gave what it had no right to bestow: the land belonged to prior occupants; and, in most cases, the settlers found it expedient, as well as just, to purchase a right to the soil from the Indian proprietors. The settlement of the colonies had cost the government nothing, except Georgia, towards the colonisation of which parliament had, at three different times, granted sums of money, amounting in the whole to 56,000*l.* sterling.

In the late wars, it is true, Britain had been put to considerable expense in defending her American dominions; but the colonists thought they had borne their full share in the struggle, and had conferred rather than received a favour. The sense of present security made them set an undue value on their past services, and perhaps they were extravagant in their expectations of future indulgence.

The peace of 1763, which restored tranquillity to America, also released Europe from a long and sanguinary war; in the early part of which the arms of Britain had been shamefully foiled, but in the end had been every where triumphant. George III. had ascended the throne in the full tide of victory, and amidst all those circumstances that dazzle and win the popular mind. His fleets and armies were victorious, and his enemies bent beneath the weight of his power. He was in the prime of youth, when the people are usually willing to cherish fond anticipations of their king, and to yield him a cordial affection and support.

But causes of dissatisfaction and quarrelling lurked under these fair appearances. The young king had given his confidence to men whose political measures were not likely to meet with public approbation. The welfare of the community is the great end of all government; and it is equally dangerous always to float down the irregular and tortuous current of public prejudice, and to oppose, irritate, and defy it. The people commonly mean well; but their knowledge is limited, their understandings feeble, their prejudices and passions

strong; they need always to be enlightened, and, occasionally, to be soothed, checked, or controlled, like a wayward child, or a furious maniac. But the ministers of George III. chose rather to insult, irritate, and defy them, than to soothe their passions, enlighten their reason, and gently influence their conduct.

The plan of taxing the colonies had been suggested to sir Robert Walpole; but that wary minister declined the experiment. "I will leave that," said he, "to some of my successors who have more courage than I have, and who are less friendly to commerce than I am." The ministers of George III. had the courage which sir Robert Walpole acknowledged he did not possess; and they boldly or inconsiderately hazarded the perilous experiment.

During the early period of their history the colonists were poor, and did not much attract the attention of government; but when they emerged from their original obscurity, increased in numbers, and began to acquire wealth, the mother-country wished to share the fruits of their industry. By their charters they were bound to pay to the crown a per-centage on all goods imported; and some commercial regulations had afterwards been established with the view of increasing the revenue. But this was not sufficient, and taxation commenced its career; when, by an act passed in the sixth of George II., duties were imposed on rum, sugar, and molasses imported into the colonies: but that act, although not openly resisted, was, in a great measure, eluded by smuggling. In the minds of the Americans no disgrace was attached to this illicit commerce; and it was carried to such an extent that a number of small ships of war was appointed to cruise along the coast, and in the West Indies, to repress it. It is possible that the commanders of those vessels did not always execute their orders with discretion and humanity; be that as it may, their conduct excited much irritation in the minds of the merchants, and alienated their affections from the British government.

In the spring of 1763 a bill was carried through parliament, and received the royal assent, which imposed certain duties on indigo, coffee, East India silk, French lawns, and some other articles of merchandise imported into the colonies. These duties were to be paid in gold and silver. In the same session of parliament a bill was passed declaring the colonial paper money not to be a legal tender in payment of debts. During the preceding war, the colonial assemblies had adopted the expedient of issuing bills of credit to answer their pressing exigencies; and, in order to give greater value to those bills, they made them a legal tender in payment of debt. The bills were redeemable, after a certain time, either by the collection of taxes imposed for that purpose by the assemblies, or by the money allotted by parliament to the several colonies as a compensation for their extraordinary exertions during the war.

Ignorant of the principles of political economy, or compelled by the necessity of the case, the colonial assemblies had issued those bills in such quantities as proved highly injurious to commerce. They fell to a depreciation of thirty or forty per cent.; and the exchange with Britain was, in a corresponding degree, against the colonies. The British merchants, who found it necessary to accept those bills in payment, although they took them at the rate of depreciation when the payment was made, yet often sustained a considerable loss by their undergoing a still greater degree of depreciation before they could be again brought to market. In order to put an end to this evil, the colonial assemblies were restrained from making those bills a legal tender; and this salutary restraint was considered a grievance by the colonists, but was more felt in some of the provinces than in others.

The provisions of the act imposing duties on merchandise, being principally of the nature of commercial regulations, passed the British parliament without any particular notice, but were viewed in America with a jealous eye. That act however, was only introductory

to the system of American taxation which the minister contemplated. He meant to steal upon the colonies, and accustom them to the yoke by degrees.

Hitherto the usual method of supplies in America had been by requisition from the crown, through the governors, to the several assemblies; but, at the time of passing the above-mentioned act, the minister moved a resolution, "that towards further defraying the expense of protecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain STAMP duties on the colonies." This duty was to be payable into the British exchequer. Although, however, this resolution was passed, no bill founded on it was introduced in the course of the session. It was merely intended to prepare the minds of the colonists for what was to happen, and to give time for the irritation which it might occasion to exhaust itself, before the evil, which they were taught to anticipate, overtook them.

The stamp act, although delayed, was neither forgotten nor abandoned: for, on the 29th of January, 1765, the minister, in a committee of the house of commons, moved fifty-five resolutions for imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies; and soon after introduced a bill founded on those resolutions. The warning given in the preceding session, instead of reconciling the minds of the colonists to the projected tax, had only afforded them time to prepare for opposing it; and numerous petitions were transmitted from America, the greater part of which denied the right of Britain to impose any tax for the purpose of raising a colonial revenue, at the disposal of the British parliament, and payable into the British exchequer.

Those who opposed the bill pleaded that the claim of Britain to tax the colonies was new, and contrary to the British constitution; according to which, taxation is commensurate with representation: that the colonists were not represented in the British parliament, and, consequently, were not liable to be taxed by it; that the

provinces, on the constitutional application of the crown to the colonial assemblies, had never been backward to contribute their share towards the expense of the wars in which the parent state had been involved; that, during the last war, their patriotic exertions and liberality had been conspicuously displayed, and gratefully acknowledged by parliament; and that the proper compensation to Britain for any expenses she might have incurred in settling or protecting the colonies was the monopoly of their trade, her right to the regulation of which was not disputed.

To the plea that the colonies were not represented in the British parliament, the partisans of the minister answered that the colonists were *virtually* represented in the British house of commons, in the same way as many of the inhabitants of Britain who have no vote in the election of representatives. That answer the colonists treated with derision; alleging, that although abuses existed in Britain that was no good reason for extending them to America. They argued, that the members of parliament were themselves to bear their share of the taxes which they imposed in Britain; but that if allowed to tax America they would impose burdens on others which they themselves were in no degree to feel; nay, that in proportion as they oppressed others they would relieve themselves. The prospect of such a state of things confirmed the jealous apprehensions of the colonists, filled them with indignation, and called forth a vigorous and almost unanimous opposition and resistance to the proposed tax.

The people of New England were at first most decided and energetic in opposing British taxation. They employed all the means in their power to engage the other states to enter into their views; and the proceedings of the British ministry powerfully seconded their designs. For, unfortunately, by their enactments they gave offence to all the colonies, and prepared the southern states for following in the train of their northern neighbours.

The restrictions on paper currency were particularly offensive to the southern states; for they had not a sufficient quantity of the precious metals to serve the purposes of a circulating medium. The restriction had a tendency to diminish the value of their paper money; and they considered the act as a wanton interposition of parliamentary authority, immediately injurious to their interests, while they did not perceive its ultimate utility.

The regulations against smuggling put an end to the traffic of the colonists with the Spanish settlements, from which they derived the precious metals. The act which required the duties to be paid in specie, and transmitted to the British treasury before they were applied to colonial purposes, drained the provinces of gold and silver, while the restriction bill diminished the value of their paper currency. The joint operation of all those measures greatly incommoded the colonists, deeply affected their interests, and roused their resentment. The northern provinces employed the press to proclaim their grievances, and rouse the spirit of the middle and southern colonies; and their exertions were not unsuccessful. The murmur of discontent and indignation was heard from the hills of New England to the marshes of the Savannah; and every man thought his grievances more oppressive by listening to the bitter complaints of his neighbour.

Those angry and indignant feelings were kindled into a flame by the stamp act, which imposed duties on such papers and documents as are used in evidence in the common transactions of life between man and man; on such as are employed in legal proceedings; in appointments to offices; in admissions to professions, and in the entry and clearance of vessels at the custom-house. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of a few members of parliament, this inauspicious bill was carried through both houses by large majorities, received the royal assent on the 22d of March, 1765, and was to take effect in America on the 1st day of November fol-

lowing. Copies of the act, with an account of the debates which it had occasioned in parliament, were speedily transmitted to the colonies by their agents, and operated like a fire-brand thrown among combustible materials. The press proclaimed the public opinion and feelings, and confirmed that opinion, and rendered those feelings more intense.

The British ministry were not ignorant of the ferment in America; but they relied on the overawing authority of parliament; on the devoted attachment of some of the provinces; and on want of unanimity among the colonists in their opposition to the measures of government. They were, therefore, much disappointed and chagrined on learning that the first legislative opposition to the stamp act was made by the ancient colony of Virginia, famed above all the rest for loyalty and a devoted attachment to the mother-country.

The general assembly of Virginia was sitting when a copy of the stamp act, with certain information that it had passed into a law, arrived in the province. The subject was soon introduced into the assembly, and occasioned one of the most violent debates that had ever been known in that country. At the conclusion of the discussion, the house agreed to four resolutions, which were inserted in their journals on the 29th of May, 1765. The substance of these resolutions was as follows:—1st, that their ancestors brought with them from England, and transmitted to their posterity, all the rights, privileges, and immunities, enjoyed by British subjects:—2dly, that those privileges were confirmed by two royal charters, granted by James I.:—3dly, that they have ever enjoyed the right of being governed by their own assembly in the article of taxes and internal police; which right has not been forfeited or yielded up, but has been recognised by the king and people of Great Britain:—4thly, that the general assembly of Virginia, with his majesty, or his substitute, have the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impo-

sitions on the inhabitants of the colony; and that every attempt to invest such a power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

In order the better to understand the third of the above resolutions it is proper to remark, that, at the period under consideration, the people of Virginia, and of the other colonies also, made a distinction between *taxes*, and *duties* on the importation or exportation of merchandise; admitting the right of the British legislature to impose the last, but not the first.

Although the debate in the assembly of Virginia was violent, yet the resolutions passed were very different from those of Massachusetts Bay in the preceding year: the one pleaded their charters, the other the rights of man. The governor, when informed of these resolutions, dissolved the assembly. But this measure had no tendency to extinguish the rising flame: the assembly had declared the stamp act illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust; and was understood by this resolution to have sanctioned resistance to its execution. On returning home, the members spread the spirit of the assembly through their several districts; and as the resolutions became known they fanned the flame of indignation in the provinces.

In the course of the year the assemblies of the other colonies entered into resolutions similar to those of Virginia. How much soever those assemblies differed on other subjects, they were unanimous in condemning the stamp act; and their cordial unanimity on this one point strongly tended to obliterate the shades of difference between them in other respects, and to create throughout the provinces a mutual sympathy of political feeling and opinion.

The assembly of Massachusetts Bay, which had always been active in opposing British taxation, seized the present opportunity of consolidating the grievances,

uniting the sentiments, and combining the strength of the colonies in their common cause. Hitherto little concert and co-operation had existed among them. The original settlers of the several provinces had differed much in their sentiments and habits; and, spread along the coast of a large continent, living far from each other, engaged in different pursuits, and having in some instances interfering interests, there had been little friendly intercourse between them, and their original differences were not much diminished. Instead of a compact and vigorous body, they presented to the eye of the mother-country a number of separate and unconnected communities, the casual murmurs and uncombined resistance of each of which might be disregarded and easily subdued. Their late grievances, indeed, had brought them somewhat more into contact with each other than formerly, had made them feel a common interest, and had created something like a colonial sentiment and feeling; yet the bond which united them was but feeble. To strengthen that bond, and to give unity and vigour to their sentiments and conduct, was the aim of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay.

For this purpose, on the 6th of June, 1765, that assembly resolved that it was expedient that a general congress of deputies from all the lower houses of assembly in the colonies, to consult on the grievances under which they laboured, in consequence of the late enactments of the British parliament, be held at New York, on the first Tuesday of October. They chose their own deputies, and communicated their resolution to the other colonies.

Time did not allay the ferment of the public mind, nor in any degree reconcile the colonists to the stamp act. In the month of August, the populace of Boston burst out into open violence, and directed their fury against the houses and property of those whom they considered friendly to the measures of the British government. By a timely retreat, those gentlemen saved themselves from personal violence; but their houses

were demolished, and their property pillaged or destroyed.

In the other colonies, although the public indignation did not manifest itself in acts of open outrage, yet it was so alarming that all the gentlemen who had been nominated distributors of stamps found it expedient to resign their appointments.

In the months of September and October, the stamps arrived in America; and as the agents for the distribution of them had resigned, and durst not act, the care of the stamps devolved upon the governors of the several provinces. In some of the colonies, those obnoxious papers were seized and destroyed by the enraged populace; but in most of them the governors were prudent enough to lodge them in places of security, or to convey them on board ships of war. In none of the thirteen provinces durst any person attempt to distribute them.

In that troubled and angry state of the public mind, the first Tuesday of October, the day appointed for the meeting of the congress of deputies at New York, arrived. That congress held its first session on the seventh day of the month, when delegates from nine of the provinces appeared. New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, had sent no representatives. The assemblies of the three last named provinces were not sitting when the letters from Massachusetts' Bay arrived; and the governors took care to defer their meeting till the first Tuesday of October was passed; consequently they had no opportunity of choosing delegates to the congress. The assembly of New Hampshire, although it approved of the congress, sent no deputies; but signified its willingness to join in any petition which the representatives of the other colonies might prepare.

Having spent twelve days in deliberation, on the 19th of October the congress agreed to fourteen resolutions, expressive of their rights and of their grievances. They stated that the inhabitants of the colonies owed the same allegiance to the king as the inhabitants of Great Britain, and all due subordination to parliament;

that they are entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, as the people of Great Britain; that no taxes can be imposed on a free people, but by their own consent or that of their representatives; that they were not, and could not be, represented in the house of commons; that the only representatives of the people of the colonies were those chosen by themselves, and that no taxes have been or can be imposed upon them but by those representatives; that all supplies to the crown are free gifts from the people, and that therefore it was unreasonable that the parliament of Great Britain should grant the property of the inhabitants of the colonies; that trial by jury was the right of British subjects; that the stamp and other acts, by imposing taxes, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond the ancient limits, had a tendency to subvert the rights and privileges of the colonists; that the duties imposed by the late acts of parliament were grievous, and the payment of them impracticable; that the colonists, by purchasing British manufactures, contributed to the supplies granted to the crown; that the restrictions laid on their trade by the late acts of parliament would render them unable to purchase British manufactures; that the prosperity of the colonies depended on the free enjoyment of their rights and privileges; and that they had a right to petition the king and the parliament. Having agreed to those resolutions, and to petitions founded on them, to the king and to both houses of parliament, the congress dissolved itself on the 25th of October.

The meeting of this congress was a matter of great importance, and had a powerful influence on the subsequent counsels and conduct of the Americans. At it many of the leading men in the several provinces became personally acquainted, and had an opportunity of interchanging sentiments fully and confidentially, on every subject relating to their common rights and grievances. They learned to combine their opinions, to unite their strength, and to give consistency and vigour to their

plans and efforts in the common cause; and they set the example of a general congress when any emergency might require it.

The effects of the communications which had taken place between the members of this assembly, and of their common sentiments and determinations, soon appeared. In all the colonies associations were formed against the introduction of British manufactures, and agreements entered into not to import any of those manufactures, after the 1st day of January next, till the stamp act should be repealed.

The 1st of November, the day appointed for beginning to carry the stamp act into effect, arrived: but no stamps appeared; there was no person to distribute them, and none durst have used them although they had been at hand. The courts of law could not proceed with business; and, except in criminal cases, in which stamps were not required, the administration of justice was suspended. All merchandise was embarrassed; and commerce was at a stand, because the entry and clearance of vessels at the custom-house could not be made in the legal manner. Some merchants ventured to send their ships to sea, with certificates from the governors that no stamps could be procured; and the council and assembly of Massachusetts Bay boldly declared it lawful to transact business as formerly without stamps.

The strenuous opposition to the stamp act in America was not inefficacious in Europe. The act became unpopular in England, as well as in the colonies. The fears of the merchants and manufacturers were awakened lest their trade should be diminished or destroyed; and many, who neither knew nor cared about constitutional principles or American freedom, joined in petitions against the stamp act, merely from a regard to their own manufactures and commerce; just as they would have done in favour of the measure, how oppressive soever to the colonists, had they thought it profitable to themselves.

CHAP. VI.

DUTIES REPEALED. — RIOT AT BOSTON. — CAPTAIN PRESTON TRIED. — GASPER BURNED. — BOSTON PORT BILL. — GENERAL GAGE. — CONGRESS. — PETITION TO THE KING. — DISSOLUTION OF CONGRESS. — WRITS ISSUED FOR AN ASSEMBLY AT SALEM. — COUNTERMANDED; BUT MEETS AND RESOLVES ITSELF INTO A PROVINCIAL CONGRESS. — ENGAGE MINUTE MEN. — A COMMITTEE OF SAFETY AND SUPPLIES. — HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS. — EXPORTATION OF MILITARY STORES FROM BRITAIN PROHIBITED. — CANNON REMOVED BY PEOPLE OF RHODE ISLAND. — NEW HAMPSHIRE. — GENERAL AGITATION. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN. — PARLIAMENT. — PROVINCIAL CONGRESS. — COLONEL LESLIE MARCHES TO SALEM. — BATTLE AT LEXINGTON AND CONCORD. — IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR. — INEQUALITY OF THE PARTIES ENGAGED. — COLONIAL ARMY. — NEW YORK. — PHILADELPHIA. — VIRGINIA. — LORD DUNMORE CONVENES THE ASSEMBLY. — GOES ON BOARD THE FOWEY. — PROVINCIAL CONVENTION. — SCOTTISH PETITIONERS. — LORD DUNMORE'S PREDATORY WARFARE. — PROCLAMATION. — NORFOLK. — CAPTAIN FORDYCE KILLED. — NORFOLK BURNED. — CONNOLLY. — LORD DUNMORE SAILS TO JOIN GENERAL HOWE. — SOUTH CAROLINA. — LORD WILLIAM CAMPBELL ARRIVES. — GEORGIA JOINS THE UNION.

INFLUENCED by some petty court intrigues, wholly unconnected with colonial policy, on the 10th of July, the king dismissed Mr. Grenville, the patron of the stamp act, and his friends from the ministry, and appointed the marquis of Rockingham and his adherents to supply their place. These men had opposed the obnoxious act in its progress through parliament; and, on being invested with authority, resolved to repeal it. On the 18th of March, 1766, they repealed it accordingly. But the revocation of this unpopular statute was accompanied by an act containing a formal declaration, that the British parliament had a right to make laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever. This declaratory act was merely a display of puerile folly. It gave an ungracious aspect to the abrogation of the stamp act, and tended not in the

slightest degree to strengthen the claims of parliament. It served merely to irritate passion, and provoke enquiry and discussion; which could not fail to be injurious, when the ability to enforce obedience was in the least degree doubtful.

The repeal of this act occasioned much joy in America; but the declaratory act mingled that joy with a spirit of bitterness, and made the concession be regarded as an act of justice wrung from the grasp of an oppressor, rather than a favour kindly bestowed by the hand of a friend.

The courts of law resumed their functions; the provincial assemblies were convoked; mutual congratulations passed between them and their governors; and harmony seemed restored. But amidst the acclamations of joy, the sullen note of jealousy and distrust was heard. Some of the provincial newspapers cautioned the people not to relax their vigilance, and reminded them that although the stamp act was repealed, yet the principle was asserted; that they owed the repeal more to their own unanimity and firmness than to the generosity of parliament, and that they ought not to be unprepared for attempts similar to that which they had then defeated.

The British ministry instructed the governors of the several provinces, in their addresses to the assemblies, to enlarge on the condescension, lenity, and tenderness of the king and parliament, in listening to the petitions of the colonists, after so much provocation; and to tell them that suitable returns of gratitude, affection, and submission were expected from them. In their answers, the assemblies were liberal in their professions of loyalty to the king, but no way explicit in expressing their submission to parliament; and some of them soon found an opportunity of manifesting their feelings and sentiments.

On revoking the stamp act, parliament voted an address to the king, requesting him to instruct the colonial governors to procure from the assemblies compensations to the individuals who had sustained loss in the riots

occasioned by the obnoxious statute. With this requisition the assembly of Maryland readily complied: but the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, instead of prompt obedience, complained that the governor had expressed the requisition in stronger terms than his instructions authorised, and told him they would embrace the first opportunity to consider the recommendation. After several delays, they granted the compensations; but inserted in the act a clause of indemnity in favour of the rioters. The assemblies of Rhode Island and New York were not much more obsequious. In the other colonies no loss had been sustained.

A rage for law-making is the common blunder of statesmen; and even sad experience did not cure the British ministry of their legislative propensities in the management of American affairs. In the same session in which they had repealed the stamp act, and before the ferment of the public mind had time to subside, they, by a clause in the mutiny act, made some innovations in the provision for soldiers stationed in America, who were to be supplied with certain necessaries in their quarters; and they ordered the provincial assemblies to provide the funds for defraying the necessary expense. The governor of New York, on the day after he had communicated to the assembly the repeal of the stamp act, sent a message requiring them to provide quarters for some troops which were marching to the city, and informed them of the enactments of the amended mutiny bill. The assembly were in no haste to enter on the consideration of the message; but at length informed the governor that they would provide for the troops as formerly. This answer was unsatisfactory: the governor sent another message, and, after some correspondence, the assembly refused compliance with the demand; but ultimately found it expedient to submit. A similar refractory spirit manifested itself in the other colonies, particularly in Massachusetts Bay.

In the month of July the marquis of Rockingham and his friends, in the fluctuations of court policy, were

dismissed from office; and a new ministry, under the duke of Grafton, was formed. Like their predecessors, they busied themselves in legislating for the Americans, and were determined to draw a revenue from that people by means less objectionable, as they thought, than those already tried.

In the discussions on the stamp act, a distinction had been made by the opponents of the bill, both in Britain and America, between external and internal taxation, or between raising money from the colonies by duties on the importation and exportation of merchandise, and taxes levied in the way which had been proposed by the stamp act. Availing themselves of this distinction, the ministry procured an act of parliament, imposing duties on glass, paper, white lead, painters' colours, and tea, payable on the importation of those articles into the American colonies. The revenue arising from those duties was to be applied in making provision for the administration of justice, and the support of civil government. A clause was also introduced authorising the crown to establish a general civil list in America, with salaries, pensions, or appointments, to the full extent of the American revenue; and any surplus of that revenue to be at the disposal of parliament. In the same session an act was passed, authorising the establishment of an American board of commissioners of customs, which was fixed at Boston, where the commissioners arrived in autumn. The acts were passed about the beginning of July.

But it was now too late for such enactments. For although the distinction between duties and taxes, or external and internal taxation, had been more general than it appears to have been, yet, in the course of long and angry discussions on the subject of taxation, the sentiments of the colonists had acquired an extension, precision, and consistency which they did not originally possess; and the people now vigorously and indignantly opposed what at one time they would have submitted to without a murmur.

By the concert established among the colonies, and the experience of successful resistance, the confidence of the people in themselves was confirmed, and their disposition to try their strength in the common cause increased. Hence the Grafton administration did not meet with that submissive acquiescence in their system of taxation with which they had flattered themselves. The colonists easily perceived that ministry still attempted to raise money from them, and to dispose of it, independently of the colonial assemblies. Accordingly the American political writers contended that the act now passed for levying a tax from the colonies was as unconstitutional as that which had been abandoned; that, by the adoption of such measures, Great Britain acted the part rather of a harsh mother than of a kind and fostering parent; that she envied the flourishing condition of the colonies, and wished to crush their growing prosperity; that therefore the inhabitants of the provinces owed it as a duty to themselves and to their innocent children to resist those encroachments in the outset; for if they quietly submitted to one act of oppression, it would soon be quoted as a precedent for a second, and that for a third, till the colonists were stripped of their wealth, and reduced to a state of ignominious poverty and vassalage. These sentiments, forcibly expressed and actively disseminated throughout the country, powerfully contributed to keep jealousy alive, to lessen the respect for parliamentary authority, and to alienate the affections of the people from the parent state.

On the present, as on former occasions, the province of Massachusetts Bay was particularly active in opposing the measures of government. At a meeting held in the town hall, on the 4th of October, the inhabitants of Boston agreed to enter into associations to encourage manufactures among themselves; to discountenance luxuries of all sorts; and to discontinue the importation from Britain of all superfluous articles of dress.

When the assembly of the province met, in January, 1768, it entered on the consideration of grievances; and

prepared a petition to the king, complaining not only of the acts of the last session of parliament, but of every act for imposing duties on the American colonies since the year 1763. They instructed their agent in England how to controvert those acts on principles of natural right, equity, policy, and commerce. They also addressed themselves to the lords of the treasury, the secretaries of state, and leading men in the administration, and requested their good offices in promoting the success of their petition.

Having thus exhausted all the means in their power for ensuring success in Britain, they next turned to the sister colonies, to engage their co-operation. They wrote a circular letter to each of the other colonial assemblies, informing them of the measures they had taken, and of the arguments they had employed against the late acts of parliament; expressing also a wish that similar measures should be adopted by the other assemblies, and a desire to receive from them such suggestions as they thought advantageous to the common interests of the provinces.

This letter was dated the 11th of February; and the governor of Massachusetts Bay immediately transmitted a copy of it to the ministry. It irritated and alarmed them; and, in order to counteract its mischievous effects, the secretary for American affairs, on the 22d of April, wrote letters to the governors of the several provinces, to be by them laid before the respective assemblies. The secretary condemned the letter of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay as factious, tending to inflame the minds of his majesty's good subjects in America, to produce unwarrantable combinations, and to subvert the true principles of the constitution: he therefore warned the assemblies to be on their guard against that mischievous effort of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, and to treat it with contempt.

But the bond of union between the provinces and their mutual sympathy were now too strong to be shaken, or even interrupted, by ministerial interposition.

The secretary's letter, instead of answering the purpose intended, only furnished new matter of offence and complaint. The assemblies maintained that they had a right to consult together, and freely communicate to each other their sentiments, on their common rights and grievances; and they complained that the interference of the British ministry was an unjustifiable attempt to restrain them in the exercise of their undoubted rights. Accordingly, instead of being guided by the secretary's warning, the colonial assemblies acted on their own principles, and transmitted to Britain petitions similar to that of Massachusetts Bay.

The independent notions and high pretensions which the people of New England had always cherished, had now gained ground among their southern brethren; and the shades of difference between the political sentiments of the colonists began fast to disappear. Besides, numbers in the middle and southern provinces, although they did not cordially approve of the principles avowed in Massachusetts Bay, yet, when compelled to make an election between the pretensions of the British cabinet and the principles of the people of New England, had no difficulty in preferring the latter.

While these proceedings were going on in the provinces, new causes of irritation and quarrelling occurred at Boston, the capital of Massachusetts Bay. The sloop LIBERTY, belonging to John Hancock, a merchant in Boston, and a man of much influence among his townsmen, arrived in the harbour, laden with wine. A tide-waiter was put on board, to prevent the landing of the cargo till it was entered at the custom-house. On the 9th of June, the night after the arrival of the sloop, the tide-waiter, having refused permission to land the cargo, was locked up in the cabin: the wine was discharged, and ere morning the vessel was loaded with oil. On being informed of these proceedings, the collector of the customs seized the sloop, and, for security, put her under the guns of the Romney man-of-war, then lying in the harbour. This was no sooner known than a mob col-

lected. The commissioners and officers of customs, being threatened and assaulted, took refuge on board the Romney. They applied to the governor for protection. He communicated the application to the council and assembly, requesting their advice and assistance. But these were not given; and the commissioners withdrew for safety to Castle William, a fortress on an island at the mouth of the harbour.

On the 14th of the month, the inhabitants of Boston assembled; but instead of entering into the views of the governor, they presented to him a remonstrance against the seizure of the sloop, and requested him to order the Romney out of the harbour. Meanwhile, Mr. Bernard, the governor, had been instructed by the British ministry to require the assembly, in the king's name, to rescind the resolutions of the preceding session, on which their circular letter had been founded. On their refusal, he dissolved them.

The refractory proceedings of the people of Boston were highly offensive to ministry, who ordered troops to the town in aid of the civil power. On receiving information of this measure, the inhabitants assembled, on the 12th of September, and petitioned the governor to call a general assembly. He replied, that he had dissolved the last agreeably to his instructions, and had no authority to convoke another until he should receive his majesty's order for that purpose. On hearing this answer, the inhabitants of Boston adopted the bold resolution of forming a provincial convention, to be held on the 22d of the same month. They chose four of their number to represent them in the convention: they directed letters to be written to the other towns of the province, inviting them to send deputies; and they resolved that the inhabitants of Boston should provide themselves with arms, agreeably to the laws of the province, which had been too much neglected; alleging as a reason for such a measure the apprehension of a war with France; and, lastly, they requested the ministers of the town to set apart the following Tuesday as a day of fasting and prayer.

The convention met on the 22d of September, as had been proposed, and consisted of deputies from ninety-six towns and eight districts. Its proceedings were moderate. It disclaimed all pretensions to legislative authority; recommended to the people to respect the civil power, and wait with patience the result of his majesty's wisdom and clemency; and declared it would assist the magistrates in preserving the public peace. This convention dissolved itself on the 29th of September, the day on which the first division of the troops reached Boston. These troops, consisting of two regiments, had been ordered from Halifax, and were landed under cover of the ships of war with their broadsides turned towards the town, which the soldiers entered with great military parade.

For a while every thing went on quietly; but in the midst of the calm, many circumstances portended a gathering storm. The non-importation associations, although they had to encounter many difficulties, arising from the selfish views of individuals and the interfering interests of the different colonies, became general before the end of the year; and their operation was to commence on the 1st day of January, 1769.

The British parliament met; and in the month of February, 1769, entered on the consideration of American affairs. The late proceedings in the colonies became a subject of deliberation. The town of Boston was declared to be in a state of disorder and disobedience to law; and an address was presented to the king from both houses of parliament, in which they expressed their approbation of the steps already taken to support the authority of the mother-country; signified their readiness to concur in such measures as might be necessary for that purpose; and recommended the infliction of exemplary punishment on the authors of the late disturbances, and also the revival of the statute of the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII., for trying within the realm of England treasons committed beyond seas,

and the issuing a special commission for that purpose, if deemed needful.

This intemperate address, although carried through both houses of parliament by large majorities, did not pass without considerable opposition. Some members boldly espoused the cause of the Americans, reprobated the measures of the ministry towards them, and formed or countenanced a party in Britain friendly to the colonies. That part of the ministerial plan which advised the revival of the statute of Henry VIII., for the trial in England of treasons committed beyond seas, was extremely offensive to the friends of freedom in Britain, and in America alienated from the parent state numbers whose attachment to it had hitherto remained unshaken. It awakened a spirit of suspicion and jealousy which was never afterwards laid asleep. That intemperate proposal roused the indignation of every ingenuous mind, and interested the feelings of many of the colonists who had hitherto taken no part in the quarrel.

Instead of being intimidated, the assembly of Massachusetts Bay was sensible of the advantage which this rash act gave it over the British parliament, and was not backward in improving it. The members remonstrated against the injustice and illegality of the measure; the sister provinces entered into their feelings; parliament sunk in the estimation of the colonists; and that body, which seemed to think its authority a sufficient sanction for any absurdity, was to be taught, by fatal experience, that wisdom and moderation are the surest bulwarks of legislative power.

Altercations between the governors of provinces and the assemblies became frequent. The refractory assemblies were occasionally dissolved; and the members, on returning to their homes, communicated the irritation of their own minds to their respective neighbourhoods. Dissatisfaction was spread throughout the whole country. The non-importation associations became general and active. In all the principal towns the people appointed committees to examine cargoes on their arrival from

Britain, and to report how far the association had been faithfully observed, and in what instances it had been violated. Regular meetings were held to receive these reports. Votes of censure were passed against offenders, and their names published in the newspapers; a penalty of no light amount, as it degraded their character in the estimation of their countrymen, and exposed them to the torrent of popular obloquy.

The effect of these measures was soon felt in Britain. The commerce with the colonies rapidly declined; and the value of the merchandise exported to America, in the year 1769, was 744,000*l.* less than that of the preceding year. The revenue arising from the American duties annually decreased. Out of those duties parliament, in the year 1767, had the disposal of 110,000*l.* sterling; in 1768, of 70,000*l.*; and, in 1769, of 30,000*l.* only. As the associations were not against the use of the goods, provided they were not of British manufacture, they not only encouraged American manufactures, but also an illicit commerce with foreign countries.

The British merchants and manufacturers, very sensitive classes of men when their own interests are immediately affected, took the alarm, and earnestly petitioned for the repeal of the obnoxious acts. The firmness of the ministry, who were now in a great measure changed, was shaken, but their pride was not humbled. In the month of March, 1770, lord North, who held the office of first lord of the treasury, introduced a bill for abrogating the duties payable in America, except that on tea, which he weakly declared would be continued solely for the purpose of saving the national honour; forgetting that the Americans, as well as the British, considered their honour implicated in the subject. The members of opposition in parliament insisted on the revocation of the duty on tea also; observing, that the discontinuance of the other duties would not give satisfaction so long as that on tea was retained, as the Americans did not complain of the amount of the

duty, but denied the right to impose it. The bill, however, passed as originally proposed by the minister, and received the royal assent on the 22d of April.

During these parliamentary transactions, an occurrence happened in Boston, the source and centre of opposition to British authority, which greatly exasperated the Americans, and removed the hopes of reconciliation to a greater distance than ever. Frequent quarrels had arisen between the inhabitants and the soldiers, who had been stationed there in the autumn of 1768; but the public peace was preserved till the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, when a scuffle ensued, near the barracks, between a few soldiers and some young men of the town: the soldiers pursued the young men through the streets; the townsmen took the alarm; the bells of the churches were rung; the multitude assembled at the custom-house, and insulted and threatened the sentinel stationed there. Captain Preston, the officer on duty at the time, hastened with a party to support the sentinel: he endeavoured to persuade the people to disperse; but his humane and peaceful efforts were unavailing. The mob became more riotous than before, throwing stones and other missiles at the military. At length a soldier who had been struck fired on the multitude; some of his comrades soon followed his example: four persons were killed, and several wounded. The crowd fled, but soon collected in another street. The drums beat to arms; the troops were drawn out; and the utmost agitation and confusion prevailed in the town.

A meeting of the inhabitants was held, and a deputation sent to the governor, requesting him to remove the troops. He assembled the council, who were of opinion that the removal of the troops would be for the good of his majesty's service. The troops were accordingly removed to Castle William. Captain Preston surrendered himself for trial; and the soldiers who had been under his command at the custom-house were taken into custody.

Some days afterwards, the bodies of those who had been killed in the riot, accompanied by a great concourse of people, displaying emblematical devices calculated to inflame the popular mind, were carried in funeral procession through the town to the place of sepulture. The colonial newspapers gave an inflammatory account of the transaction, representing it as an atrocious massacre of the peaceable inhabitants.

Fortunately for captain Preston and his party their trial was delayed till the month of October. Before that time the irritation of the public mind had somewhat abated; and captain Preston and six of his men, after the examination of many witnesses, were acquitted even by a Boston jury. Two of the party were found guilty of manslaughter.

The news of the discontinuance of the American duties reached Boston while the minds of the people were much irritated by the death of their townsmen, who had fallen in the riot; but in the inflamed state of the public mind the intelligence had little effect in soothing their angry passions, or cherishing a spirit of conciliation. The exasperation and firm resolution to resist all parliamentary taxation, which prevailed in Massachusetts, did not exist, in the same degree, in the other colonies; and, therefore, in them the repeal of the duties had considerable influence on the public mind. In all the provinces much inconvenience had been felt in consequence of the non-importation associations, and many of the people were glad to be released from them. Accordingly, they now held those associations no longer binding, except in regard to tea: some, indeed, wished to interpret them more rigorously, and to consider them obligatory till the tax on every article was abrogated. But the general sense of the colonists was that they ceased in regard to every article from which the tax was removed, and that now they operated against tea only. Hence, during the remainder of this year, and the whole of the next, the commerce of Britain with America was in a flourishing condition.

In the southern and middle colonies, although the people were not entirely satisfied with parliament, yet, for the sake of peace, they were generally inclined to acquiesce in what it had done. The same spirit did not prevail in the north; for there the colonists were indignant at the restrictions laid on their commerce by the establishment of an American board of admiralty, and the powers granted to the officers of the navy, in order to enforce the revenue laws. The zeal of these petty officers was often much greater than their prudence; and they highly provoked the people by the vexatious activity and insolence with which they executed their commission.

Lieutenant Dudington, commander of the armed schooner Gasper, stationed off Rhode Island, was remarkably active in executing the laws against smuggling, and in searching for contraband goods. By this conduct, and by compelling the packets to lower their colours in passing him, he had become the object of much ill will. On the evening of the 9th of June, 1772, the Providence packet, with passengers on board, came up with colours flying, and, refusing to lower them, the lieutenant fired a shot at her; which, being disregarded, he gave chase. It was near full tide, and the packet stood closely in to the land, for the purpose of drawing the Gasper into shallow water: the design succeeded, and the schooner got fast aground, about seven miles below Providence. The packet proceeded to the town, where the resolution was soon formed of attacking and destroying the Gasper. Accordingly, about two in the morning, a body of armed men, in several whale boats, boarded the Gasper, which was still aground, forced the lieutenant, who was wounded in the scuffle, with his crew, ashore, and burned the schooner and her stores. Government offered a reward of 500*l.* for the discovery and conviction of the perpetrators of this daring outrage; but evidence could not be procured against the party, although the leaders of the enterprise were not unknown.

The British ministry were incapable of deriving wis-

dom from experience; for, after all the mischief which had resulted from their American acts, they still indulged the passion for colonial legislation. Hitherto the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had voted a scanty allowance to the judges and to the law officers of the crown; but, about the beginning of the year 1772, in order to render the judges more independent, the crown granted them liberal salaries out of the American revenue. The measure was proper, but the time unseasonable; for every act of government was looked on with distrust and jealousy by the colonists; and, in the irritable state of the public mind at that time, the grant of salaries to the judges, being viewed as the wages of subserviency, created much alarm and agitation in the province.

The inhabitants of Boston met on the 25th of October. Mr. Hutchinson, a native of Massachusetts Bay, who had formerly held the office of chief justice of the province, was then governor, having succeeded sir Francis Bernard in 1770: to him they presented a petition, setting forth the evil tendency of the new regulation respecting the judges, and the alarm which it had occasioned, and praying him to call an assembly. He refused: the people, therefore, appointed a committee to consider what was to be done in that season of danger, and to report to a subsequent meeting. The committee prepared a report more extensive than any that had hitherto been framed, comprehending the rights of the colonists as men, as citizens, and as Christians. In this report they completely denied the right of the British parliament, in any respect whatsoever, to legislate for the colonies. They enumerated the rights of the colonists; affirmed that those rights had been violated in various instances, and particularly in the declaratory act of 1766, in which parliament had arrogated the right of legislating for them without their consent, and under pretence of that right had imposed taxes on the colonists; and for the purpose of superintending the collection of those taxes had appointed new officers to

reside among them, unauthorised by their charter and unknown to their constitution; and that the British ministry, by the new regulation granting salaries to the judges and crown officers out of this odious tribute, designed to complete that system of slavery which the house of commons had begun, by assuming a power to grant their money without their consent.

The inhabitants of Boston met to receive the report, which was read and agreed to. It was ordered to be printed and circulated in the province, accompanied by an exhortation to the people no longer to doze or sit in supine indifference, while the hand of oppression was tearing the choicest fruits from the tree of liberty.

When the assembly of the province met in January, 1773, the governor, instead of passing over in wary silence all the topics of irritation, unnecessarily and imprudently expatiated on the supreme legislative authority of the king and parliament. This fanned the dying embers; and the assembly, instead of qualifying the claims contained in the resolutions of the people of Boston, avowed them in all their extent. In their address, they openly denied the right of parliament to tax or to legislate for them in any respect whatsoever; and added that, if in any late instances there had been a submission to acts of parliament it had arisen rather from want of consideration, and a reluctance to contend with the parent state, than from a conviction of the supreme legislative authority of parliament. This was a clear avowal of their sentiments; but about half a year afterwards, the assembly, as if afraid of having been too plain, thought proper, in a letter to the earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state, to impute the blame to the governor's imprudent introduction of such irritating topics into his speech.

A new cause of quarrel between the governor and assembly of Massachusetts Bay soon arose. The celebrated Benjamin Franklin was then agent of the colony in London. By some unknown means, he got posses-

sion of several letters written by governor Hutchinson to official persons in England. These he transmitted to the assembly; and the disclosure of their contents threw that body into a violent ferment. They sent a deputation to the governor, which showed him the letters, without trusting them into his hands, and demanded whether he acknowledged the signatures. In these mortifying circumstances the governor admitted the signatures to be his. The assembly without delay prepared a petition to the king, charging the governor with having betrayed his trust, and slandered the people under his government, by giving private, partial, and false information; declaring him an enemy to the colony, and praying his removal from office.

How Dr. Franklin procured the letters is not certainly known; but either the manner in which he obtained them, or the use which he made of them, or both, gave so much offence to the ministry, that they dismissed him from his office of joint deputy postmaster-general for America, with circumstances of marked disapprobation; treatment which no doubt influenced the subsequent conduct of that distinguished man.

The refractory spirit which had so often manifested itself in the assembly and colony of Massachusetts Bay had been gradually working its way into the other provinces. Since the time of the first congress, a mutual correspondence had been maintained between the leading men of the several colonies. The measures of the British ministry had unhappily tended to promote among them an approximation of political sentiment, and to make them feel the importance of union and co-operation in giving consistency and vigour to their measures. But although the colonies were determined to resist taxation by a British parliament, yet there was not at this time among the great body of the people, nor even among their leaders, unless with perhaps a very few exceptions, the remotest intention of a separation from Great Britain. But an act of parliament was passed this session which brought matters to a crisis, and

severed the American colonies for ever from the British empire.

The East India company enjoyed a monopoly, and, having allowed their affairs to fall into disorder they applied to parliament for relief; complaining that their embarrassments were partly owing to the American disturbances, which had lessened the demand for their tea, and left nearly 17,000,000lbs. lying in their warehouses for want of a market; but unhappily ministry resolved to relieve them. For this purpose parliament empowered the company to export their tea to the colonies free from all duties payable in Britain. The ministry seem to have imagined that the company, by exporting the tea to America in their own ships, would be enabled to relieve their overstocked warehouses; that the colonial non-importation associations would be rendered ineffectual; and that the tax of three-pence on the pound would necessarily be paid in America. But the quarrel had already proceeded too far to admit of the success of such a scheme. The Americans easily foresaw, that if the tea were landed in the provinces it would be impossible to check the sale and consumption of it; they, therefore, took measures to prevent the discharging of their cargoes.

The people of Boston, notwithstanding all their clamorous pretensions against importation, had been guilty of violating the provincial compacts on that point; and it was stated that, between the beginning of 1768 and the end of 1772, no less than 2714 chests of tea had been imported into Boston by more than 100 different persons. Mr. Hutchinson and his sons had been deeply concerned in this traffic. As the merchants of Philadelphia and New York had faithfully adhered to the non-importation resolutions, they now demanded to know whether the inhabitants of Boston would engage to prevent the landing in their port of tea from the East India company's ships, which they pledged themselves to do.

In the month of November news reached the town

that three ships, loaded with tea, on account of the East India company, were on their way to that port. The information threw the people into great commotion: the consignees were threatened, and fled for safety to Castle William. On the arrival of the tea, a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and of the neighbouring towns was held, at which it was resolved to send back the ships without permitting them to discharge their cargoes. Notice of this resolution was given to the consignees and others interested in the ships; and the meeting adjourned to afford them time to return their answer. The captains wished to put to sea, without running the risk of losing their cargoes. But the governor, who had always recommended coercive measures, found it easy to throw difficulties in the way of an amicable arrangement. The clearance from the custom-house, which was necessary to authorise the sailing of the ships, could not be obtained: besides, the vessels could not be allowed to pass Castle William without the governor's permission, which he refused to grant. The people, however, were too resolutely bent on their purpose to be diverted from it by such management. On the 16th of December, the adjourned town meeting, after having heard an account of all the proceedings in the affair, dissolved itself amidst cries of "A mob, a mob!" and in the evening a number of armed men, disguised like Mohawk Indians, boarded the three tea ships, and, in about the space of two hours, broke open 342 chests of tea, valued at 18,000*l.* sterling, and discharged the contents into the sea. The work was deliberately performed, and no property but the tea injured.

The determined spirit of resistance to the introduction of this article was not confined to Boston, but manifested itself in other places also, although it was not attended with similar violence. In most instances the ships were obliged to return, without having discharged their cargoes. In Charlestown, after much opposition, the tea was permitted to be landed, but was

immediately lodged in damp cellars, where it long remained, and was finally spoiled.

Information of the destructive proceedings at Boston reached Britain while parliament was sitting, and was communicated to both houses by messages from the crown. The people of that town had on so many occasions shown a refractory spirit, and had committed so many outrages, that it was determined to make them feel the weight of parliamentary vengeance. For that purpose a bill was introduced on the 14th of March, 1774, and received the royal assent on the 31st of the same month, prohibiting the lading or unlading of any goods or merchandise, excepting stores for his majesty's service, and provisions and fuel for the use of the inhabitants, at any place within the port of Boston, after the 1st day of June, until the king was satisfied that good order and obedience to the laws were restored, and until the East India company and others should be indemnified for the loss they had sustained in the riots. Then, and not till then, might the king by proclamation open the harbour of Boston. In order to enforce obedience to the enactments of this bill, four ships of war were ordered to sail for the proscribed town. General Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts' Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson; and he was authorised to grant pardons for treasons and all other crimes, and to remit forfeitures to all such offenders as he should think fit objects of royal clemency.

But the British ministry were not satisfied with shutting up the harbour of Boston; they resolved not only to punish the people for past offences, but also to prevent future misconduct. For these purposes, they determined to annul the charter of the colony, and give it a new constitution. They accordingly procured an act of parliament which deprived the lower house of assembly in Massachusetts Bay of the power of electing the council, and vested that privilege in the crown, authorising the king, or the governor acting in his name,

to appoint judges, magistrates, and sheriffs. The act also authorised the sheriff to summon and return juries, and prohibited town meetings, unless with the consent of the governor. The charter was considered by the colonists as the compact between them and the king, and as the only bond of union between them. They admitted that if they had violated the charter they were justly liable to punishment; but thought neither king nor parliament had any right to annul the charter. The attempt to do so, in their opinion, broke the bond of union, and set the people free from their allegiance. From that moment the parties became independent on each other, and the king could reign over the colony only as a conquered province, reduced to unconditional submission.

But with these two acts the ministry were not satisfied. For the consummation of their plan, they added a third, empowering the governor, with the advice of the council, when any person in the discharge of his duty as an officer of revenue, or as a magistrate in the suppression of riots, or in the support of the laws of revenue, or when any person acting under the authority of a magistrate for any of those purposes, should be charged with the crime of murder, or with any other capital offence whilst so acting, to send the person so charged to any other colony, or to Britain, to be tried, if it should appear to the governor and his council that an impartial trial could not be had in the province. Those acts did not pass without opposition. There were persons in parliament who had discernment enough to perceive the pernicious tendency of such measures; but the plan of the ministry was supported by docile majorities in both houses.

The session of parliament closed in the month of June. The ministry were highly pleased with the wisdom of their own counsels, and triumphed in the anticipation of complete success. They exulted in the belief that, by the vigour of their measures, the turbulent and refractory spirit of the Americans was now

subdued; that for the future, submission and tranquillity would prevail in the provinces, and that government would receive no further trouble from its American subjects. Notwithstanding this delusive hope the discontents of the colonists were in no degree allayed; and the assembly of Massachusetts Bay was actively employed in prosecuting the most offensive measures. They revived the question concerning the salary of the judges, which had been begun in 1772, and resolved "That it is the incumbent duty of the judges explicitly to declare, whether they are willing to accept the grants of the general assembly, or to receive their support from the crown: their delaying any longer to let the people know their determination will discover that they have little or no regard for the peace and welfare of the province; and in such case it will be the indispensable duty of the commons of this province to impeach them before the governor and council."

But from this petty dispute the attention of the people of Boston was soon turned to a subject of higher importance and of more immediate interest. On the 10th of May intelligence of the port bill reached the town. Such a rigorous measure was wholly unexpected, and excited the liveliest indignation against its authors. The act was immediately printed on paper with a black border, and hawked about the streets as a bloody, cruel, and inhuman murder. On the 13th of May general Gage arrived in Boston as governor of the province; and seemed apprehensive of an ungracious reception. But the people, notwithstanding their exasperation on account of the port bill, behaved with decency on the occasion, and received him with the usual marks of respect. His presence, however, did not restrain the inhabitants from concerting measures for counteracting the provisions of the bill. On the day after his arrival there was a numerous meeting of the townsmen to consider the late obnoxious act, which resolved, "That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies will come into a joint resolution to stop all importa-

tions from and exportations to Great Britain and every part of the West Indies till the bill be repealed, it will prove the salvation of America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression; we therefore leave it to others, and appeal to God and the world."

The inhabitants of Boston were not long left in uncertainty and suspense with respect to the sentiments and conduct of the other provinces concerning the port bill. The rest of the colonies had opposed the introduction of the tea as firmly as they, although, from peculiar circumstances, the proceedings had not been equally riotous at any other port. They were considered as suffering in the common cause; and the other colonies gave them prompt assurances of co-operation and support. The people of the other sea-port towns of Massachusetts Bay, instead of taking advantage of the calamity of their neighbours in Boston to increase their own commerce, generously offered them the use of their wharfs and warehouses for carrying on their trade.

According to custom, the colonial assembly of Massachusetts Bay met soon after the arrival of the new governor; who, in his speech at the opening of the session, informed the members that they were to remove to Salem on the 1st of June, which from that time was to be considered the seat of government. The notice was by no means agreeable to the assembly; and, as an intimation of their sentiments on the occasion, they petitioned him to appoint a day of general fasting and prayer. He declined compliance; and soon after adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem.

Before the 7th of June the people of Boston had received assurances of the lively sympathy of the other colonies, and of their active co-operation in the cause of American freedom. Emboldened by such support, they determined to act with unabated vigour. The assembly,

according to adjournment, met at Salem on the 7th of June; resolved on a general congress, to meet at Philadelphia on the 1st of September; nominated five of their members to attend it; voted the sum of 500*l.* for defraying their expenses; and recommended to the several towns and districts of the province to raise this sum, according to their proportion of the last provincial tax, which was readily complied with. On being informed of these proceedings the governor dissolved the assembly.

An active correspondence was now carried on between the leading men of the several provinces; and corresponding committees were every where established. The cause of the inhabitants of Boston daily became more popular; and the sentiments of the people of New England rapidly gained ground throughout the continent. There were a few persons not unfriendly to the claims of the British government; but at town meetings their efforts were vain, as they were opposed by overwhelming majorities.

The Boston committee of correspondence, satisfied that they enjoyed the good opinion and confidence of the public, ventured to frame and publish an agreement, entitled a *Solemn League and Covenant*. The engagement was so incautiously expressed that it gave offence to many of the most steady friends of American freedom. It soon sunk into obscurity, and was succeeded by a compact of a less exceptionable nature, but equally efficacious in preventing a commercial intercourse with Britain. On the first appearance of the "solemn league and covenant," general Gage was not a little alarmed, and he issued a strong proclamation against it; but the exceptionable nature of the paper operated far more powerfully than the governor's proclamation.

Although almost all the inhabitants of the provinces were hostile to the late acts of the British parliament, yet there were shades of difference in the sentiments of the people on the subject. Some wished to come to ex-

tremities at once: the more cool and considerate were desirous of exhausting all the means of conciliation before they had recourse to more violent measures; and there were some, especially in the southern provinces, who did not entirely disapprove of the late acts of the British parliament.

Throughout the country the printing press was chiefly in the hands of persons unfriendly to the ministry; and that powerful engine was actively employed in supporting the cause of the colonies, and contributed not a little to fan the growing flame. The sufferings occasioned by the port bill, in Boston and its vicinity, exasperated the people without either intimidating or subduing them: they saw that it was intended either to terrify or compel them to unconditional submission; and they determined to repel force by force. They seized every opportunity of providing themselves with muskets, and other military accoutrements. Many of them, indeed, in conformity to the militia laws, were already in possession of fire arms, and all were desirous of improving themselves in the use of them. With the musket they were familiarly acquainted from their earliest years; and, having been much exercised in hunting, were dexterous marksmen. Many imagined that this, combined with patriotic ardour, would supply the defects of military discipline and want of military habits. A warlike spirit pervaded the provinces, and the note of preparation for battle was every where heard. The parties had ill calculated each other's strength: the colonists had but a very imperfect knowledge of the formidable power of Britain, and the British government had formed no just estimate of the unanimity and vigour of the colonists; else both parties would have been much more cautious.

While the people were so active in their preparations, general Gage was not an inattentive or idle spectator of their proceedings. Apprehensive of resistance to his authority, he had soon after entering on his government ordered two regiments of infantry and a detachment of artillery to Boston. This body of troops was gradually

increased by reinforcements from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec, and was encamped on the common and narrow neck which connected Boston with the main land. The presence of these troops alarmed the townsmen, and greatly increased the jealousy of the country people. The Boston committee did every thing in their power to render the situation of the military disagreeable; and privately counteracted every measure tending to promote their comfort. They dissuaded the farmers and others from selling them straw, timber, boards, and every other article, except the provisions necessary for their subsistence. If purchases were made by the agents of government, care was taken that the articles did not reach the camp in safety: the straw was burned; vessels with bricks were sunk; carts with wood were overturned; and, in one way or other, purchases were either prevented or the commodities destroyed before they reached the camp.

A guard was stationed on Boston Neck, ostensibly with a view to prevent the desertion of the soldiers; but it was considered by the Americans as intended to cut off the communication between the town and country, and to compel the inhabitants of Boston to submit unconditionally to the acts of the British parliament. Inflamed by rumours of this kind, the inhabitants of Worcester county assembled, and despatched messengers to Boston, to ascertain what degree of credit was due to these reports. Those messengers assured the people of the town that, if any attempt should be made to compel them to surrender their rights, several thousands of armed men were ready to march to their assistance; and that if they should yield up their liberties, the people in the country would not consider themselves parties in their submission, nor bound by their deed.

In the month of August, a copy of the act of parliament altering the constitution of Massachusetts Bay, and commissions from the king to those who were to compose the new council, in room of that which had been chosen

by the assembly, reached Boston, and threw the town and neighbourhood into a state of the greatest fermentation and confusion. The courts of justice were suspended, because the grand juries refused to take the oaths; and the petty juries declined serving, because Mr. Oliver the chief justice had been impeached by a late house of commons of the province, and because the judges of the superior court had been made dependent on the crown. In some places the people assembled in large bodies, and took possession of the court-houses and avenues leading to them, so that neither judge nor officer could gain admittance; and when the sheriff commanded them to make way for the court, they replied, "We know no court, nor any other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of our country; and to no other will we submit or give way on any account."

General Gage endeavoured to call in religion to the aid of his government; but the irritation of his temper defeated the scheme of his policy. He issued a proclamation to encourage piety and virtue, and to prohibit and punish profaneness and immorality; classing *hypocrisy* among the immoralities. This the people of Boston considered as a gross insult; and probably felt the insinuation the more keenly, in proportion as they were conscious of its justice.

The events of almost every day tended not only to keep alive but to increase the mutual irritation. The inhabitants of Salem were invited by a hand-bill to meet on the 25th of August, in order to concert measures for opposing the late acts of parliament. On the 24th, the governor issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting. But the proclamation was disregarded: the people assembled. Troops were sent to disperse them; but before the arrival of the troops the business was finished, and the assembly dissolved.

Every thing wore a portentous aspect. The people were highly exasperated; the governor was irritated and alarmed. Perhaps no human prudence could have long delayed hostilities without abandoning the British claims;

but the conduct of the governor hastened matters to a crisis. He fortified Boston Neck; and before daybreak, on the 1st of September, sent a party of soldiers across the river Charles, and removed a quantity of provincial powder which had been lodged in the arsenal at Charles-town, a small town opposite Boston. The news of this transaction spread rapidly through the country; and several thousands of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, mostly armed, soon assembled at Cambridge. They proceeded to the houses of several gentlemen who had been named counsellors under the late act; and those gentlemen found it expedient to resign their appointments, and to declare that they would not fill any office under the obnoxious bills. It was with difficulty that this multitude was dissuaded from marching to Boston, to demand the restoration of the powder, and to attack the troops in case of refusal.

This tumultuary meeting gave rise to a rumour, which circulated throughout New England with amazing rapidity, that the troops were firing on the town of Boston; and, in less than twenty-four hours, between thirty and forty thousand men were in arms, some of whom marched upwards of twenty miles on their way towards Boston before they were satisfied that the rumour was false. This circumstance greatly encouraged the most turbulent and daring of the popular leaders, who resolved to keep up and cherish the public agitation by holding an assembly of delegates from the several towns and districts of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the capital, to consider what course was to be pursued in the present posture of affairs. This assembly met on the 9th of September; and, after a spirited preamble, daringly resolved, "That no obedience is due from this province to the late acts, but that they be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America: that so long as the justices are appointed or hold their places by any other tenure than that which the charter and the laws of the province direct, they must be considered as unconstitutional officers; and, as such, no regard ought to be

paid to them by the people of this country: that it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, and all other officers who have public money in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the provincial county treasurer, until the civil government of the province be placed upon a constitutional foundation, or it shall be otherwise ordered by the proposed provincial congress: that the persons who have accepted seats at the council-board, by virtue of a *mandamus* from the king, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country: that this county do recommend it to all who have so highly offended, and have not already resigned, to make public resignation on or before the 20th day of this month of September: that all refusing so to do shall, after said day, be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country: that the fortifications begun and carrying on at Boston Neck give reason to apprehend some hostile intentions against that town: that the late act establishing the Roman catholic religion in Quebec is dangerous in an extreme degree to the protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of America: that whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous and brave people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline; we therefore, for the honour and security of this county and province, advise that such persons be elected in each town, as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends of the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants do use their utmost endeavours to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and do, for that purpose, appear under arms at least once every week." To these resolutions they added, that in the meanwhile they purposed to stand merely on the defensive; recommended that, in case any of their number should be apprehended by government, all the servants of government in the province should be seized and detained in custody, until the persons who had been apprehended should be restored

uninjured; and they exhorted their fellow-citizens to a calm but steady and determined perseverance in the course pointed out.

After passing these decisive resolutions, the meeting drew up an address to the governor, and nominated a committee to present it, and to remonstrate with his excellency against the measures which were carrying on. They also despatched copies of their resolutions to the general congress, which had met at Philadelphia on the 5th of the month, for their opinion and advice on the subject. The congress approved of the Suffolk resolutions, and resolved unanimously, "That this assembly deeply feels the sufferings of their countrymen in the Massachusetts Bay, under the operation of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted; and they earnestly recommend to their brethren a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in their resolutions; trusting that the united efforts of North America in their behalf will carry such conviction to the British nation of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures."

The Suffolk resolutions openly set government at defiance; and congress, by approving those resolutions, virtually raised the standard of rebellion, and set the colonies in hostile array against the parent state. Thus, step by step, the provinces were brought into a condition which a short time before they would have contemplated with horror. Many of the colonists, however, still fondly cherished the hope that the quarrel would be settled without an appeal to arms.

Between the unwary and obstinate policy of his superiors, and the determined opposition of the subjects of his government, general Gage was placed in unpleasant and difficult circumstances; but to the committee from

the county of Suffolk, which waited upon him, his language was firm and temperate.

The people of New England, who had impatiently waited for the opinion of congress on the Suffolk resolutions, were much elated with the approbation of that body; and, considering its resolutions as a pledge of support from the other colonies, they proceeded with increased courage in the bold career on which they had entered.

Georgia had not yet joined the confederation; but twelve colonies had sent delegates to the general congress, which consisted of fifty-two members, besides the president. All these delegates had received instructions from their respective constituents; and some of the instructions were more moderate than others: but all of them authorised the delegates to concur in any measures which the majority thought it expedient to adopt. In the congress each colony had only one vote, although it had several delegates present.

The congress chose Peyton Randolph as their president, and Charles Thomson secretary. The resolution in approbation of the Suffolk meeting was the first business in which they engaged. In a subsequent resolution, passed on the 8th of October, they declared, "That if the late acts of parliament shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay in their opposition: that if it be found absolutely necessary to remove the people of Boston into the country, all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain; and that every person who shall accept, or act under any commission or authority derived from the act of parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter, ought to be held in detestation."

On the 10th of October they addressed a letter to general Gage, in which they expressed the deepest concern at his proceeding in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even the oppressive acts of

parliament did not warrant. They represented the tendency of his conduct to irritate and force the people, hitherto well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and might involve them in the horrors of civil war: they expressed their hope that, in order to quiet the minds of the people, he would discontinue the fortifications in and about Boston, prevent any farther invasion of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communication between the town and country should be open, unmolested, and free.

In his answer, the general said, "No troops have given less cause for complaint, and greater care was never taken to prevent it; and such care and attention were never more necessary, from the insults and provocations daily given both to officers and soldiers. The communication between the town and country has been always free and unmolested, and is so still." He stated, that the hostile preparations throughout the country rendered it his duty to fortify Boston Neck; and concluded by saying, "I ardently wish that the common enemies to both countries may see, to their disappointment, that these disputes between the mother-country and the colonies have terminated like the quarrels of lovers, and increased the affection which they ought to bear to each other."

The congress deliberated with shut doors, and consequently none of its proceedings were known, except such as it thought proper to publish; but the papers which it communicated to the world were important, and had a powerful influence on subsequent events. They published a declaration of rights to which the colonists of North America were entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the British constitution, and their several charters or compacts. As the first of these rights, they mentioned life, liberty, and property; the power to dispose of any of which, with-

out their consent, they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever. Their ancestors, they said, at the time of their emigration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects of the realm of England: that by their emigration they had not forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they and their descendants were entitled to all of them which their circumstances enabled them to exercise. They stated, that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; that as the colonists are not and, from various causes, cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where only their right of representation can be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as had heretofore been used.

That they might not seem utterly to disregard parliamentary authority, they declared that, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, they cheerfully consented to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as, *bonâ fide*, related merely to the regulation of external commerce, in order to secure the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother-country; excluding, however, every idea of taxation, either internal or external, for raising a revenue from the colonies without their consent.

They asserted their right to trial by their peers of the vicinage; pronounced a standing army, kept up in time of peace in any colony, without the consent of the legislature of that colony, illegal; and maintained that a legislative council, appointed during pleasure by the crown, was unconstitutional: they also entered into a non-importation agreement.

At the same time they prepared an address to the people of Britain, in which they warned them that, if

they supported ministry in attempting to subdue and enslave the American colonies, they would forge chains for themselves. "Take care," say they, "that you do not fall into the pit preparing for us."... "But if you," they afterwards add, "are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause; we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world. Place us in the same situation that we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

Congress addressed a memorial to their constituents, replete with serious and temperate argument. In this paper, they detailed the causes which had led to the unhappy differences, and laboured to convince the colonists that their liberty would be destroyed, and the security of their persons and property annihilated, by submission to the claims of Great Britain. They addressed a letter to the inhabitants of Canada also, and endeavoured to interest them in their cause.

That they might in no respect be wanting to themselves, congress prepared a petition to the king, in which they gave a succinct statement of their grievances, implored his clemency for protection against them, and imputed all their distresses, dangers, and fears, to the destructive system of colonial administration which had been adopted since the conclusion of the last war. They expressed their belief that, as his majesty enjoyed the singular distinction of reigning over freemen, the language of freedom could not be displeasing to him. "Your royal indignation," say they, "we hope will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interpose themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and

prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints."

They concluded by saying, "Permit us, then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never can compensate the calamities through which they must be gained. We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition."

The addresses of congress were written with much ability, and well expressed; but many of its resolutions occasioned much debate, and some of them were carried by small majorities. Its recommendations were revered and obeyed as sacred laws throughout the colonies.

The congress having finished their labours, and recommended the appointment of a similar assembly, to meet on the 10th of May next, unless a redress of grievances had before that time been obtained, dissolved themselves on the 26th day of October.

Originally formed of heterogeneous materials, differing in manners, religious sentiments, and civil constitutions, the colonies, for a long time, had no common

feelings and interests. They had even been alienated from each other by local prejudices and provincial jealousies; but the dread of a common danger had gradually overcome all those principles of repulsion, and united the twelve provinces, from New Hampshire to South Carolina, in one compact body. They were embarked in a common cause, and relied on each other for mutual support. By meeting in congress, the leading men in the several provinces had become personally acquainted; and their sentiments of reciprocal respect and friendship strengthened the bonds of political union. It was not, therefore, to be expected that they would recede from their claims without a violent struggle.

The province of Massachusetts Bay was the more immediate seat of the quarrel; and the popular leaders in that colony, assured of the co-operation and support of the other provinces, were not intimidated by the menacing attitude of the governor, but persevered steadily in the execution of their purposes.

The violence of the people against all whom they considered unfriendly to American freedom was so great, that the commissioners of the customs, and all the officers of government, deemed it expedient to quit Salem, and to repair to Boston for safety; so that all the apparatus of a custom-house was transferred to a port which an act of parliament had pronounced it unlawful for any vessel to enter.

Having formed a council under the new act for the government of Massachusetts Bay, general Gage, by its advice, issued writs for holding an assembly in Salem, on the 5th of October; but was induced by subsequent events to countermand the elections by a second proclamation, and to suspend the meeting of the members already returned. The colonists, considering the second proclamation illegal, utterly disregarded it, and chose their representatives in obedience to the first.

The assembly, to the number of ninety, met at the time and place appointed. They waited a day for the governor to open the session; but, finding he did not

appear, they, on the third day, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, a town about twenty miles distant from Boston. They chose Mr. Hancock president; and appointed a committee to wait on the governor with a remonstrance, in which they apologised for their meeting by representing the distressed state of the colony; mentioned the grievous apprehensions of the people; asserted that the rigour of the Boston port bill was increased by the manner of its execution; complained of the late laws, and of the hostile preparations on Boston Neck; and adjured him to desist immediately from the construction of a fortress there.

The governor was at a loss how to act. He could not recognise the meeting at Concord as a legal assembly, and was sensible of the imprudence of increasing the public irritation by declining to take notice of their remonstrance. He was constrained by the pressure of circumstances to return an answer: and, in that answer, he expressed his indignation at the suspicion that the lives, liberty, or property of any but avowed enemies were in danger from English troops; and observed, that, notwithstanding the hostile dispositions manifested towards them, by withholding almost every necessary accommodation, they had not discovered that resentment which such unfriendly treatment was calculated to provoke. He told them that, while they complained of alterations in their charter by act of parliament, they were themselves, by their present assembling, subverting that charter, and acting in direct violation of their own constitution: he therefore warned them of their danger, and called on them to desist from such unconstitutional proceedings.

But the warnings of the governor made no impression on the provincial congress. On the 17th of October, that assembly adjourned to Cambridge, a town about four miles from Boston. They resolved to purchase military stores; and to enlist a number of *minute* men, so named from their engaging to take the field in arms on a minute's warning. But the greater part of the

members, although sufficiently zealous in the cause, had no conception of the expense attending such proceedings; and were alarmed at the mention of the most paltry sums. They were in easy circumstances, but had little money; living on the produce of their farms, their expenditure was trifling, and they were utter strangers to large accounts. They were prevailed on, however, at first to vote 750*l.* sterling, and afterwards to add 1500*l.* more, for purchasing warlike stores. By cautious management, their leaders ultimately induced them to grant almost 16,000*l.* sterling, for the purpose of maintaining their liberties. Such was the sum with which they were to resist the power of the British empire!

They appointed a *committee of safety*, with authority to call out the militia when thought necessary for the defence of the inhabitants of the province; and a committee of *supplies*, to purchase ammunition, ordnance, and other military stores. They elected Jedidiah Pribble, Artemas Ward, and colonel Pomeroy, who had seen some service in the late war, general officers, and appointed them to the chief command of the minute men and militia, if they should be called into actual service. On the 27th of October, the congress adjourned to the 23d of November.

On the approach of winter, the governor ordered temporary barracks for the troops to be erected: but he found much difficulty in the execution of his purpose; as, through the influence of the select men and committees, the mechanics were unwilling or afraid to engage in the work, and the merchants declined to execute his orders.

The mutual suspicions of the governor and people of Massachusetts Bay were now so strong, that every petty incident increased the irritation. Each party made loud professions of the best intentions; and each watched the other with a jealous eye. In a proclamation, the governor forbade the people to pay any regard to the requisitions, directions, or resolutions of the provincial congress, and denounced that body as an illegal assembly; but

the proclamation was disregarded, and the recommendations of congress were revered and promptly obeyed.

Instead of being intimidated by the governor's proclamation, the provincial congress of Massachusetts Bay, on reassembling after their adjournment, proceeded with greater audacity than ever, and gave decisive evidence of their determination to carry matters to extremities rather than submit to the late acts of parliament. They resolved to have 12,000 men in readiness to act on any emergency, and ordered a fourth of the militia to be enlisted as minute men, and empowered them to choose their own officers. They despatched agents to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to concert measures with the leading men in those provinces, and to engage them to provide their contingents for an army of 20,000 men. They resolved to bring their force into action, and to oppose general Gage whenever he should march his troops out of Boston, with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery; and they applied to the ministers of religion, throughout the province, desiring their countenance and co-operation. They also added colonels Thomas and Heath to the number of generals whom they had formerly nominated. Towards the end of November the congress dissolved itself, having appointed another to be held in the month of February.

Alarmed by the proceedings in the several provinces, the ministry had issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain. On hearing of this proclamation, the inhabitants of Rhode Island removed above forty pieces of cannon from the batteries about the harbour, for the avowed purpose of preventing them from falling into the hands of the king's troops, and of employing them against such persons as might attempt to infringe their liberties. About the same time, the assembly of the province passed resolutions for purchasing arms and military stores at the public expense, and for carefully training the militia in military exercises.

The people of New Hampshire, who had hitherto been

moderate, were excited to insurrection by the proclamation, and by the example of their neighbours in Rhode Island. They surprised a small fort at Portsmouth, and carried off the military stores which it contained.

The beginning of the year 1775 presented a gloomy prospect to America: all the provincial assemblies, except that of New York, approved of the resolutions of the general congress; and even the assembly of New York joined in the complaints of the other provinces, although it was less resolute in its opposition to the obnoxious laws. The passions of the people were every where roused, and great agitation prevailed. The inhabitants were all in motion; forming county meetings; entering into associations; recommending measures for carrying into execution the resolutions of the general congress, and choosing committees of inspection and observation, to take care that the public resolutions should be universally attended to, and to guard against the practices of those selfish individuals who, for interested purposes, might wish to elude them. In the midst of all this bustle, the militia were every where carefully trained.

Meanwhile the privations and sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston were grievous, and their passions were highly excited; but their turbulent spirit was kept in check by the presence of the troops. Supplies of provisions were sent them from the other colonies: these, however, formed but a partial and precarious resource; but the people were encouraged by the sympathy of their brethren, and by the thought that they were considered martyrs in the common cause.

Notwithstanding the portentous aspect of affairs, many of the colonists still believed that there would be no appeal to arms. Formerly their non-importation associations had produced the desired effect; and they flattered themselves that similar measures would again be followed by similar results; that the British ministry would never come to an open rupture with the best customers of their merchants and manufacturers, but would recede from

their pretensions when convinced of the determined opposition of the Americans. On the other hand, the British ministry expected the colonists would yield; and thus both parties persisted in their claims till neither could easily give way.

In the provinces, although there was much apparent unanimity in opposing the late acts of parliament, yet not a few secretly wished to submit peaceably to British authority; some from a conviction that it was right to do so; more from timidity and selfishness: but both of these classes were overawed by the more active and audacious partisans of American freedom.

While matters were in this critical state in America, many of the people of Britain took little interest in the affairs of the colonies. They did not feel their own interests immediately affected, and consequently their sensibility was not awakened. They had long been accustomed to hear of American quarrels, and satisfied themselves with thinking that the present one would pass away as those before it had done. While the nation was indifferent, the ministry were irritated but irresolute. In his speech at the opening of parliament, the king informed the two houses "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in Massachusetts Bay, and had broken out in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; but that the most proper and effectual measures had been taken to prevent those mischiefs; and that they might depend on a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of the legislature over all the dominions of the crown."

In the debates on American affairs, the partisans of ministry spake of the colonists in the most contemptuous manner; affirmed that they were undisciplined, and incapable of discipline, and that their numbers would only increase their confusion and facilitate their defeat.

Meanwhile the colonists were not idle. On the 1st of February, the provincial congress of Massachusetts Bay met at Cambridge, and, apprehensive of being too

much within the reach of general Gage, towards the middle of the month they again adjourned to Concord. They thus took decisive measures for resisting the obnoxious acts of parliament. They earnestly exhorted the militia in general, and the minute men in particular, to be indefatigable in improving themselves in military discipline; they recommended the making of fire-arms and bayonets; and they dissuaded the people from supplying the troops in Boston with any thing necessary for military service. The committee of safety resolved to purchase powder, artillery, provisions, and other military stores, and to deposit them partly at Worcester and partly at Concord.

In this alarming posture of public affairs, general Gage conceived it to be his duty to seize the warlike stores of the colonists wherever he could find them. With this view he ordered a small detachment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Leslie, on Sunday the 26th of February, to bring off some field-pieces which he understood the provincial congress had at Salem. The party landed at Marblehead, and marched to Salem; but found no cannon there. Believing they had been removed only a short time before, the commanding officer determined on pursuit. He reached a small river, on the way to Danvers, over which was a draw-bridge; but, on his approach, some people on the other side drew it up, and alleged that, as both the bridge and road were private property, the soldiers had no right to pass that way. The party were about to use some boats, but the owners instantly scuttled them. The bridge was at length let down; but the day was so far spent, that colonel Leslie, deeming it inexpedient to proceed much farther, returned to Boston. This ineffectual attempt showed the designs of the governor, and gave fresh activity to the vigilance of the people.

The colonies were now all in commotion; and preparations were every where making for the general congress, which was to assemble in the month of May.

New York was the only place which discovered much backwardness in the matter: and perhaps the timid and selfish policy of that province contributed no less to the war, than the audacious turbulence of the people of Massachusetts Bay; for the British ministry were encouraged by the irresolution of the people of New York to persist in their plan of coercion, from which they had been almost deterred by the firm attitude and united counsels of the other colonies. But hoping, by the compliance of New York with their designs, to separate the middle and southern from the northern provinces, and so easily subjugate them all, they determined to persevere in strong measures. The active exertions, however, of the adherents of the British ministry were defeated, even in New York, by the resolute conduct of their opponents; and that province sent deputies to the general congress.

Although some of the persons most obnoxious to the British government had withdrawn from Boston, yet many zealous Americans still remained in the town, observed every motion of general Gage with a vigilant eye, and transmitted to their friends in the country notices of his proceedings and probable intentions. The American stores at Concord had attracted the general's attention, and he determined to seize them. But, although he had been careful to conceal his intention, yet some intimations of it reached the ears of the colonists, who took their measures accordingly.

At eleven o'clock at night, on the 18th of April, general Gage embarked 800 grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of his army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith and major Pitcairn, on Charles River at Boston Neck.

They sailed up the river, landed at Phipp's farm, and advanced towards Concord. Of this movement some of the friends of the American cause got notice, just before the embarkation of the troops; and they instantly despatched messengers by different routes, with the information. The troops soon perceived, by the

ringing of bells and firing of musketry, that, notwithstanding the secrecy with which they had quitted Boston, they had been discovered, and that the alarm was fast spreading throughout the country. Between four and five o'clock, on the morning of the 19th of April, the detachment reached Lexington, thirteen miles from Boston. Here about seventy of the militia were assembled, and were standing near the road; but their number being so small, they had no intention of making any resistance to the military. Major Pitcairn, who had been sent forward with the light infantry, rode towards them, calling out, "Disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse!" The order was not instantly obeyed: major Pitcairn advanced a little farther, fired his pistol, and flourished his sword, while his men began to fire, with a shout. Several Americans fell; the rest dispersed, but the firing on them was continued; and, on observing this, some of the retreating colonists returned the fire. Eight Americans remained dead on the field.

At the close of this rencounter, the rest of the British detachment, under lieutenant-colonel Smith, came up; and the party, without farther violence, proceeded to Concord. On arriving at that place, they found a body of militia drawn up, who retreated across the bridge before the British light infantry. The main body of the royal troops entered the town, destroyed two pieces of cannon with their carriages, and a number of carriage-wheels; threw 500 pounds of balls into the river and wells, and brake in pieces about sixty flour barrels. These were all the stores they found.

While the main body of the troops was engaged in these operations, the light infantry kept possession of the bridge, the Americans having retired to wait for reinforcements. Reinforcements arrived; and Mr. John Butterworth, of Concord, who commanded the Americans, ordered his men to advance; but, ignorant of what had happened at Lexington, enjoined them not to fire, unless the troops fired first. The matter did not

long remain in suspense. The Americans advanced; the troops fired on them; the Americans returned the fire; a smart skirmish ensued, and a number of men fell on each side.

The troops, having accomplished the object of their expedition, began to retire. But blood had been shed, and the aggressors were not to be allowed to escape with impunity. The country was alarmed; armed men crowded in from every quarter; and the retreating troops were assailed with an unceasing but irregular discharge of musketry.

General Gage had early information that the country was rising in arms; and, about eight in the morning, he despatched 900 men, under the command of earl Percy, to support his first party. According to Gordon, this detachment left Boston with their music playing *Yankee Doodle*, a tune composed in derision of the inhabitants of the northern provinces; an act which had no tendency to subdue, but which was well calculated to irritate, the colonists.

Earl Percy met colonel Smith's retreating party at Lexington much exhausted; and, being provided with two pieces of artillery, he was able to keep the Americans in check. The whole party rested on their arms till they took some refreshment, of which they stood much in need. But there was no time for delay; as the militia and minute men were hastening in from all quarters to the scene of action. When the troops resumed their march, the attack was renewed; and earl Percy continued the retreat under an incessant and galling fire of small-arms. By means of his field-pieces and musketry, however, he was able to keep the assailants at a respectful distance. The colonists were under no authority; but ran across the fields from one place to another, taking their station at the points from which they could fire on the troops with most safety and effect. Numbers of them, becoming weary of the pursuit, retired from the contest; but their place was supplied by new comers; so that, although not more than 400 or

500 of the provincials were actually engaged at any one time, yet the conflict was continued without intermission, till the troops, in a state of great exhaustion, reached Charlestown Neck, with only two or three rounds of cartridges each, although they had thirty-six in the morning.

On this inauspicious day, the British had sixty-five men killed, 180 wounded, and twenty-eight taken prisoners. The provincials had fifty men killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing.

The appeal to arms was now made; and the struggle about to ensue was one of the most momentous recorded in the annals of the human race; not on account of the number of combatants engaged, for neither party had at any one time above thirty or forty thousand men in the field, and often not the half of those numbers; not on account of the military talents or courage displayed, for in these there was nothing extraordinary. Each of the parties, indeed, gave repeated examples of all the hardihood and enterprise of desultory warfare, but in the military genius of the commanders there was nothing singular. The contest, however, was of unparalleled importance, because of the principles involved in it, and the consequences which it has produced.

Often had kings led armies against kings. Sovereigns had thirsted for revenge, or for power and glory, and the blood of the people had flowed like rivers. The states of Greece opposed the myriads of Xerxes; and, at Marathon, Salamis, and Platea, humbled the pride of the great king: but the nations of the earth were too little enlightened to take a lesson from their generous example; even the victorious Greeks soon fell under another domination, and their successful bravery had little influence on the general state of the world. The United Provinces of the Low Countries threw off the Spanish yoke, and derived honour, wealth, and power from the obstinate struggle: but their determined resistance to oppression did not stimulate the torpid in-

sensibility of surrounding nations, slumbering under the deadening pressure of despotic sway.

At the opening of this interesting contest, the parties seemed very unequally matched. Great Britain was the most formidable state in the world. In the preceding war she had humbled the pride of the Bourbons, and triumphed over every enemy; her fleets commanded the ocean, and victory hovered over her standards. She carried on a lucrative commerce in every quarter of the globe; her flag waved in the ports of every nation; and her merchants occupied the most distinguished place in the great mart of the world. Her resources seemed inexhaustible, and her fame encircled the earth. On the other hand, the Americans were an infant people, only between two and three millions in number; they were thinly scattered over a vast extent of country, from the borders of Florida on the south to the bay of Fundy on the north, and from the Atlantic on the east to the Alleghanies on the west. Till lately, the intercourse between the provinces had been slender, and respect for the parent state was their only common feeling, and the only bond of union among them. Their pursuits, manners, and sentiments were different. They were without armies: they had a militia very partially acquainted with manual exercise. Having been much employed in hunting, many of them were expert marksmen; but to military tactics, to the subordination, prompt obedience, and patient endurance of soldiers, they were entire strangers. They had no ships but those which were employed in the peaceful pursuits of commerce. They had no exchequer, and but little money; and that little, having been gained by persevering industry and frugal habits, they were loth to expend. Their savings were chiefly laid out in the improvement of their farms. We have seen that it was with difficulty that the parsimonious assembly of Massachusetts Bay could be prevailed upon to vote any considerable sum for maintaining what they considered their liberty. At first the great body of the people had

no thought of separation from the parent state; that was the secret scheme of a few daring spirits only.

But, unpromising as their prospects were, the Americans determined not to be wanting to themselves, and took their measures with promptitude and vigour. Intelligence of the events of the 19th of April spread rapidly over the country; and the militia, from every quarter, hastened towards Boston. On the 20th, the provincial congress chose general Ward commander in chief of the forces in Massachusetts Bay, and soon afterwards named John Thomas lieutenant-general. Both of those officers had seen some service during the preceding war.

The provincial congress, having adjourned from Concord to Watertown, resolved that an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised, and wrote to the colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, informing them of the events of the 19th, and earnestly requesting them to send forward as many troops as they could spare, with provisions, arms, and military stores. General Putnam, with the Connecticut militia, hastened to join his countrymen in arms; and captain Benedict Arnold, of New-Haven, a man afterwards of much notoriety in the course of the war, was soon in camp with his company. The provincial head-quarters were at Cambridge.

A large body of men was soon collected before Boston; but they were in great want of every thing necessary for the equipment of an army. They had muskets, many of them old and rusty; but were ill provided with bayonets. They had a few pieces of artillery and a few mortars, with some balls and shells; but had only forty-one barrels of gunpowder in the public store.

The battle of Lexington operated like an electrical shock throughout the provinces. On hearing of that event, even in New York, where the friends of the ministry were more numerous than in any other place, the people laid aside their indecision, and espoused the cause of their countrymen. They shut up the custom-

house, and stopped all vessels preparing to sail to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia, or Boston. They also addressed a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, in which they declared that all the horrors of civil war would not compel the Americans to submit to taxation by authority of the British parliament; and expressed a confident hope that the citizens of London would exert themselves to restore union and peace to the empire.

The colonists of New Jersey took possession of the treasury of the province, containing about 20,000*l.*, to employ it in their own defence. The inhabitants of Philadelphia followed the example of New York, and prevented the sailing of vessels to any port on the continent that acknowledged the authority or was subject to the power of Britain.

In the space of six days, intelligence of the action of the 19th of April reached Baltimore in Maryland. The people instantly seized the provincial magazine, containing about 1500 stand of arms, and stopped all exports to the fishing islands, to such of the colonies as had declined to join the confederacy, and to the British army and navy at Boston.

In Virginia a provincial congress had met in the month of March, which took measures for training the militia, and recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company for the better defence of the country. At Williamsburgh, the capital of the colony, there was a small provincial magazine, containing upwards of 1000 pounds of gunpowder. On the night of the 20th of April, lord Dunmore, the governor, employed the captain of an armed vessel to convey the greater part of that powder on board his ship. Having got notice of the transaction, the citizens took the alarm, and the mayor and corporation addressed his lordship on the subject. He answered, that he had removed the powder to a place of security; and assured them that, if it should be needed in order to suppress an insurrection, he would restore it in half an hour.

When news of this affair reached Hanover county, captain Patrick Henry, at the head of more than 150 volunteers, marched towards Williamsburgh, to demand restitution of the powder, and to protect the public treasury against a similar depredation. When within about fifteen miles of the capital, he was assured that the receiver-general would pay for the powder, and that the citizens would guard the public treasury and magazine. The party then dispersed.

Lord Dunmore, greatly alarmed by Henry's march, converted his palace into a garrison, and issued a proclamation charging the people with the design of altering the established constitution. This was a new cause of exasperation; and the people, in their county meetings, not only approved of Mr. Henry's proceedings, but retorted upon the governor, attributing all the disturbances to his misconduct, and declaring that they only vindicated their rights, and opposed innovation. While the public mind was in this feverish state, intelligence of the battle of Lexington arrived in Virginia. It greatly increased the apprehensions and irritation of the people, and made them far more active in arming and training the militia and volunteer companies than they had formerly been. In Virginia, as well as in the other colonies, many were much alarmed; but the apprehensions of impending danger were overpowered by feelings of indignation.

In this critical posture of affairs, lord Dunmore convened the house of burgesses. His intention was to procure their approbation of lord North's conciliatory plan; and in his speech at the opening of the session, he employed all his address to gain his end. But, instead of complying with his recommendations, the house immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and to examine the state of the public magazine. For the defence of the magazine lord Dunmore had ordered spring guns to be placed in it, without giving any public warning of the measure. Some inconsiderate young men, unapprised of their

danger, attempted to furnish themselves with arms out of it; and one of them was wounded. This circumstance occasioned a violent ferment. A multitude of people assembled, broke into the magazine, and took out many of the arms; but some members of the house of burgesses, having repaired to the spot, by their remonstrances prevailed on the people to restore them.

On the 7th of June, a report was spread about Williamsburgh, that captain Collins, of his majesty's ship Magdalen, was coming up the river, with about 100 men in several boats, to take possession of the town. A number of armed persons instantly assembled to defend the place and its inhabitants; but on learning that there was no occasion for their services, they quietly dispersed. The circumstance, however, made such a deep impression on the governor's mind, that, with his lady and family, he quitted Williamsburgh, proceeded to York Town, and went on board the Fowey man of war.

A correspondence, in some instances not a little acrimonious, now took place between his lordship and the council and burgesses. He accused: they recriminated. They rejected lord North's conciliatory plan; but passed the necessary bills, and entreated the governor's attendance to give his assent to them, and to close the session. His lordship declined meeting them in the capital, and they did not choose to wait upon him on board a man of war. The correspondence terminated about the middle of July, when the burgesses were obliged to separate, in order to attend to their private affairs; but they appointed a convention of delegates to meet and supply their place.

In August the convention met, and showed itself animated by the common spirit of the country. About the middle of the month, a petition from a number of merchants and others, chiefly natives of Scotland, praying that they might not be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen, and promising a strict neutrality in case the province should be invaded by British troops,

was presented to the convention. That assembly recommended to the committees and to the colony in general to treat with lenity and kindness all the inhabitants of the country who did not show themselves enemies of the American cause, and to cherish union and harmony among all ranks of people. But many of those petitioners having, contrary to their plighted faith, manifested a decided preference to the royal cause, the recommendation in their favour was soon revoked. Before dissolving itself, the convention issued a declaration, setting forth the reasons of its meeting, and showing the necessity of immediately putting the country in a posture of defence.

Having been joined by a number of loyal colonists and fugitive slaves, lord Dunmore very imprudently began a system of predatory warfare. By mutual insults and injuries, the minds of both parties became much exasperated. At length, the governor attempted to burn the town of Hampton; but, on the morning of the 27th of October, just as he began a furious cannonade upon it, a body of riflemen from Williamsburgh, who had marched all night, entered the place, and being joined by some of their countrymen, took such an advantageous position, that, with their small arms, they compelled his lordship to retreat, with the loss of some of his men and one of his vessels.

Infuriated by this repulse, lord Dunmore had recourse to a measure more expressive of his exasperated feelings than of loyal zeal or patriotic wisdom. He issued a proclamation declaring the province under martial law; requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to the royal standard, under the penalty of being considered traitors if they disobeyed, and promising freedom to all indented servants, negroes, and others belonging to rebels, on their joining his majesty's troops.

In consequence of this proclamation, his lordship soon found himself at the head of some hundreds of fugitive negroes and others at Norfolk; but the proclamation

highly incensed the great body of the Virginians, and alienated the minds of many who had hitherto been friendly to the British claims. Being informed that a number of armed colonists was rapidly advancing against him, lord Dunmore took possession of the great bridge near Norfolk; a post of much importance for protecting his friends, and frustrating the designs of his enemies. On arriving near the bridge, the Virginians, commanded by colonel Woodford, instead of attempting to force a passage, fortified themselves at a short distance on the other side of Elizabeth River; and in this position the two parties faced each other for several days.

The impatient impetuosity of lord Dunmore's temper could ill brook to be thus braved by the colonists, whom he despised; and he determined to dislodge them. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 8th of December, captain Fordyce of the 14th regiment, at the head of a royalist detachment, left Norfolk, and reached the bridge before daybreak. He silently replaced the planks of the bridge which had been removed. The road between the bridge and the American breastwork, which was on the south of the river, was a narrow causeway, through swampy ground; and on the right, within musket-shot of the causeway, was a thicket, where the Americans had posted a small party. At daybreak, captain Fordyce, at the head of his detachment, with fixed bayonets, passed the bridge, and proceeded rapidly towards the enemy. But the Americans were not unprepared: they, however, allowed the troops to advance a good way without molestation; and when near the works poured upon them a destructive discharge of musketry, both from the entrenchment and thicket at the same time. Undismayed by this warm reception, captain Fordyce steadily advanced; but, on the second fire, he fell dead within a few yards of the American works. His party instantly retreated, sixty-two of their number being killed or wounded, while the Americans had only one man slightly hurt.

Next night lord Dunmore quitted his post, and, with

his adherents, sought refuge on board the shipping in the river. The Americans took possesssion of the town, and refused to supply the ships with provisions; therefore, early in the morning of the 1st of January, 1776, lord Dunmore began a furious cannonade on the town, and sent parties of sailors and marines ashore, who set fire to the houses nearest the water. The flames spread rapidly among the wooden buildings; a great part of the town was consumed; and the Americans themselves afterwards destroyed the rest of it, that it might afford no shelter to the royal troops. Thus perished Norfolk, the most flourishing commercial town of Virginia.

While these operations were going on, lord Dunmore entertained hopes of subduing the colony by the agency of an adventurer, named John Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania. This man, having concerted measures with his lordship, and having received encouragement from general Gage also, communicated with such militia officers as he thought most likely to enter into his views, promising them, in the name of his lordship, ample rewards. He engaged the Indians on the Ohio to act in concert with him; and he was to be assisted by the garrisons of fort Detroit, and fort Gage in the Illinois. Having collected a force on the western frontier, he was to penetrate through Virginia, and meet his lordship at Alexandria, on the Potowmac, in April. But, about ten days after taking leave of lord Dunmore, Connelly was apprehended; his papers were seized; the plot was fully discovered, and entirely frustrated. Lord Dunmore, finding all his efforts ineffectual, and being unable to remain any longer on the coast, sailed with the force under his command to join general Howe.

We shall now glance at the occurrences in the southern provinces during 1775.

From the beginning of the troubles, the people of South Carolina had flattered themselves that their non-importation and non-exportation agreements would induce the mother-country to recede from her high pre-

tensions; but the arrival in Charlestown of a packet from London, on the 19th of April, dissipated the illusion, and gave them a glimpse of the real difficulties of their situation. In the midst of the gloomy forebodings which depressed their minds, information of the skirmish at Lexington arrived, and filled them with grief and indignation. They felt their circumstances embarrassing and perilous. Their means were feeble, and their enemies powerful; but they determined not to abandon themselves to despair. Next night they seized twelve hundred stand of arms, with the accoutrements, which were in the magazine; and afterwards distributed them among the men enlisted for the public service.

The provincial congress resolved that "in their distressed circumstances they would be justified before God and man in resisting force by force." They solemnly engaged to defend their injured country against every foe; and to support, with their lives and fortunes, every measure which the provincial or continental councils should recommend. They resolved to raise two regiments of infantry and a regiment of rangers, and to put Charlestown in a respectable state of defence. Money was wanting; but bills of credit were issued, which, by a consent produced by the enthusiasm of the people, served the immediate purpose.

But notwithstanding the military enthusiasm of the South Carolinians, they were ill provided with ammunition; for, never having contemplated the possibility of actual war, they had made no provision for such a contingency. They now determined, however, by the promptitude and vigour of their measures, to compensate their past inactivity. There were not above 3000 pounds of gunpowder in the colony, and no supply could be obtained directly from Britain. But the inhabitants of East Florida had never joined in the opposition to British policy, and therefore that province still enjoyed an unfettered commerce with the mother-country.

The committee of safety at Charlestown, which had been appointed by the provincial congress, authorised

twelve persons to sail to the coast of Florida, where they surprised a ship with twelve British soldiers on board; took out 15,000 pounds of gunpowder, for which they gave the captain a bill of exchange; and, although pursued, escaped safely to Charlestown with their booty. In that agitated state of the public mind, and while the provincial congress was sitting, lord William Campbell, governor of the province, arrived, and was received with the usual demonstrations of joy. The congress waited upon him with an address, in which they represented the cause of their proceedings; declared that love of innovation had no influence on their counsels; that they had been forced to associate and take up arms, with no other view than that of defending their lives, liberties, and properties; and they entreated his excellency to assure his majesty of their loyal attachment. His lordship returned a prudent and conciliatory answer.

The people of Georgia, who had hitherto declined a participation in the colonial policy, about this time abandoned their cautious neutrality; espoused the cause of their countrymen; and appointed delegates to attend the continental congress. Thus the whole of the thirteen provinces were arrayed in opposition to Britain.

CHAP. VII.

NEW PARLIAMENT. — PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF CONCILIATION. — JOINT ADDRESS OF BOTH HOUSES. — LORD NORTH'S CONCILIATORY BILL. — EXPORTATION OF ARMS PROHIBITED. — TICONDEROGA SURPRISED. — CONGRESS MEETS. — SECOND PETITION TO THE KING. — WARLIKE PREPARATIONS. — GEORGE WASHINGTON CHOSEN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — IRREGULARITY OF THE AMERICAN ARMY. — BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. — TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. — SKIRMISHES. — SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS IN BOSTON. — SHORT ENLISTMENTS. — ROYAL CRUISERS. — DR. CHURCH. — PRIVATEERS.

THE cabinets of continental Europe, jealous of the power of Britain, saw without dissatisfaction the impolicy of her

statesmen in embroiling her with her American colonies. In the preceding war, France had lost Canada and other possessions; and, setting an undue value on colonial dominion, she was gratified by the quarrels between Britain and her transatlantic provinces. Numbers of persons in Europe sympathised with the Americans; and some enthusiastic or turbulent spirits, at a very early period of the contest, crossed the Atlantic to support the cause of independence, and fight under the colonial banner.

The British house of commons had been dissolved in September, 1774; and a new parliament met on the 30th of November following. On opening the session, the king's speech related chiefly to the insubordination in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and the refractory spirit manifested in the other colonies; and it concluded by expressing his majesty's determination to maintain the authority of the legislature over every part of the British empire.

In the house of commons a debate arose on the address; and the minister was taunted with his pompous prognostications of the success of those measures which had completely failed; but the address was carried by a great majority. The address of the house of lords, which was strongly expressed, was keenly debated: it was easily carried; but was marked by a strong protest, in which the protesting lords said, "Whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have disapproved of measures so injurious in their past effects and in their future tendency; and who are not in haste, without enquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of civil war." This protest was signed, Richmond, Portland, Rockingham, Stamford, Stanhope, Torrington, Wycombe, Camden.

Although the royal speech breathed a spirit of coercion and vengeance, and although the measures of the cabinet were supported by large majorities in parliament; yet,

previous to the Christmas recess of 1774, the ministry seemed to waver in their resolution of coming to an open rupture with the colonies. But, during the recess, ministry received letters from New York, assuring them that the assembly of that province would not concur in the measures of the general congress, but would separate itself from the colonial confederation. This fallacious assurance revived their hopes, and encouraged them to revert to their favourite scheme of coercion. After the recess, earls Chatham and Camden strongly opposed the ministerial measures regarding America; the former earnestly recommending the withdrawing of the troops from Boston, as an advance towards conciliation. But the cabinet had now come to the resolution of enforcing the late enactments; and all opposition was unavailing. The merchants trading to America at last took the alarm, and presented petitions in favour of conciliation; but their petitions met with little attention, and failed to check ministry in their career.

On the 1st of February, the earl of Chatham made another attempt towards reconciliation; and brought in the outlines of "a provisional act for settling the troubles in America; and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." But, after a keen discussion, the bill was rejected, without being allowed to lie upon the table. The house of commons refused to receive any petition from congress; and the ministry, encouraged chiefly, it has been said, by the representations of Mr. Hutchinson, late governor of Massachusetts Bay, resolved to enforce obedience to the obnoxious acts.

The plans of the cabinet, being now fully formed, soon developed themselves. Lord North, who had the management of the house of commons, moved an address to the king, and a conference with the lords upon it, in order that it might be the joint address of both houses. The address thanked the king for the communication of the American papers; declared that, from those papers, parliament found that a rebellion actually existed within

the province of Massachusetts Bay; that the parties concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into in several of the other colonies; that parliament could never relinquish any part of the sovereign authority over all the dominions by law vested in his majesty and the two houses of parliament; that they ever have been and always will be ready to pay attention and regard to any real grievances of his majesty's subjects, which shall in a dutiful and constitutional manner be laid before them; but at the same time they beseech his majesty to take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the authority of the supreme legislature; and in the most solemn manner they assured him that, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, they would stand by him against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his majesty and of the two houses of parliament.

The address wore such a portentous aspect, that it roused all the energies of the members in opposition, and appalled some even of the staunch adherents of ministry; but it was carried by large majorities, and, on being presented, met with a gracious reception.

Lord North without delay brought in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India islands, and to prohibit them from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. While this bill was in dependence, the minister surprised the house, and disconcerted his steady adherents, by a *conciliatory measure* respecting America. He proposed, "that when the governor, council, and assembly or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies shall propose to make a provision, according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament.) and shall engage to make provision also for

the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of the commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively."

The zealous supporters of royal prerogative were not a little alarmed on hearing this proposal; but their apprehensions were calmed and their hearts consoled, when it was intimated to them that the proposal was nothing more than an insidious scheme to deceive, disunite, and subdue the colonists. All the ministerial measures were carried by large majorities; and as soon as the restraining bill against the provinces of New England was passed, a similar enactment was made against the other refractory colonies. The ministry, by royal proclamation, prohibited the exportation of gunpowder and arms to America; and applied to the states of Holland and to the courts of France and Spain for a similar prohibition; but their application met with no very cordial reception.

Every motion in parliament tending towards conciliation was rejected; and every petition against the coercive acts was disregarded. To one from the city of London, presented to the king on the 10th of April, his majesty replied, "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue the measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial rights of my kingdom." A few petitions in favour of

the ministerial policy were presented; but as it was easy to procure them from dependants and expectants, at any time, and in any cause, they made no impression on the public mind, and afforded but a feeble support to the measures of the cabinet.

The administration, having exhausted their legislative sagacity on America, began without delay to display their military talents against the colonists. Towards the end of April, they despatched generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne to that country, and soon afterwards ordered a number of transports to sail from Cork with reinforcements to general Gage.

Near the end of May the session of parliament was closed; and, on the evening of the 28th of that month, captain Derby, who had been despatched by the colony of Massachusetts Bay with an account of the events of the 19th of April, to their agent in London, reached that city. Rumours of the tidings which he brought soon circulated; but it was not till the 9th of June, when captain Brown of the Silkey, who had sailed four days before captain Derby, with despatches from general Gage to government, arrived in London, that the public was fully apprised of the transactions in the vicinity of Boston. For those events the public mind was in some measure prepared by what had before happened; and consequently, although the news were unpleasant, yet they excited no great surprise. Ministry prepared for active operations; and ordered six regiments of infantry to hold themselves in readiness to embark for America.

The blood shed at Lexington loosened the social bond in America, and almost dissolved the fabric of society. The great mass of the people was held together by their common apprehensions and common indignation; but in the provinces of New England, the people, for a short time, acknowledged no supreme authority to direct their operations. Every man considered himself his own master, and at liberty to pursue such measures as he deemed most expedient for the common welfare. Accordingly, a gentleman of the name of Ethan Allan, a militia

colonel, in conjunction with some others, planned an expedition against Ticonderago.

The importance of securing the communication between Quebec and the refractory colonies, by the lakes Champlain and George, had been early perceived by the Americans; and colonel Allan, without waiting for instructions from any constituted authority, successfully executed the project. At the head of a body of armed men he hastened towards Ticonderago, and on his march was joined by Arnold, already raised to the rank of colonel. The commandant of Ticonderago, without the least suspicion of his post being in danger, was somewhat remiss in the discipline of his small garrison; and, early on the morning of the 10th of May, he was surprised in bed by Allan, Arnold, and a few of their followers, who had entered the fort, and made themselves masters of it without any loss. On being ordered to surrender, he asked by what authority he was required to do so. Allan replied, "I demand it in the name of the great Jehovah, and of the continental congress." The congress, however, knew nothing of the matter; nor was its first meeting held till some hours after the transaction. The same party made themselves masters of Crown Point, situated near the southern extremity of lake Champlain, as Ticonderago is at the north end of lake George. They also surprised Skenesborough, and a sloop of war, the only vessel belonging to the royal navy on those lakes. In this way, Allan and Arnold took upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, and some ammunition and stores; and gained possession of lake Champlain.

On the 10th of May the general congress met, when deputies from twelve colonies appeared. Georgia had not yet joined the confederacy. The congress chose Peyton Randolph president; but that gentleman being obliged to return home on the 24th of the month, they placed John Hancock in the chair. On receiving information of the enterprise and success of Allan and Arnold, the congress earnestly recommended it to the

people of New York and Albany to remove the cannon and stores of Crown Point and Ticonderago to the south of Lake George; and to take an exact inventory of them, that they might be returned on the restoration of the former harmony between Britain and the colonies.

They agreed to present a second petition to the king, similar to that of the preceding year; but, at the same time, resolved that the colonies be put in a posture of defence. They recommended to the colonists to collect saltpetre and sulphur, and to manufacture gunpowder for the use of the united provinces. They resolved to raise troops, and made every preparation for maintaining their privileges by force, if humble representations and petitions should prove unsuccessful.

But, amidst all these warlike preparations, the greater number of the deputies had no intention of separating from Britain, or of aspiring to independence. They were resolutely determined to defend their privileges, but aimed at nothing more; although, even at this early period, a few were fully convinced that the contest must terminate either in absolute submission or complete independence. The congress addressed a letter to *the oppressed* inhabitants of Canada, styling themselves their *friends* and *countrymen*. Its obvious design was to inspire the Canadians with jealousy or hatred of the British government, and to gain their good will and co-operation in the measures which they were then pursuing.

On the 15th of June congress proceeded to choose, by ballot, a commander-in-chief of the provincial or continental forces, and unanimously elected George Washington to that arduous office. That gentleman afterwards acted such a distinguished part in the war, and acquired such an illustrious name, that it is proper to glance at his personal history previous to the period under consideration. He was the third son of Augustus Washington, and was born in Virginia, in the year 1732. By the death of his elder brothers, he succeeded to the patrimonial estate, at an early age; was major of militia, and

was appointed by the governor of Virginia to negotiate with the French governor of Fort Du Quesne concerning the boundaries of the French and British governments. He became soon afterwards lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of militia, which the colony raised for the defence of its frontier. In a short time he succeeded to the command of the regiment; and was present, as a volunteer, in general Braddock's unfortunate expedition in 1755. Such was the confidence placed in his talents, that on that occasion the retreat was conducted under his direction. He was afterwards engaged in another expedition to the Ohio; and in the year 1758, on account of ill health, he resigned his commission, and lived in retirement and rural tranquillity.

From this outline of his personal history, it is obvious that his experience in military affairs was extremely limited. But he was known to be a man of sound understanding, undaunted courage, and inflexible integrity. He enjoyed, in a high degree, the confidence of his countrymen, and had been chosen one of the deputies to congress for his native province of Virginia. He had used neither solicitation nor influence of any kind to procure the appointment; and when the president informed him of his election, and of the request of congress that he would accept the office, he stood up in his place, and addressed the president in the following terms: — "Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me by this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience are not equal to the arduous trust. But, as the congress desire it, I will enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my cordial thanks for this high testimony of their approbation." He besought congress to remember that he thought himself unequal to the command with which they had honoured him; that he expected no emolument from it, but that he would keep an exact account of his expenses, and hoped they would reimburse him.

The congress afterwards chose Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, major-generals, and Horatio Gates adjutant-general. On the 22d of June they appointed Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene, brigadier-generals.

While the continental congress was busily employed in taking such measures as they deemed best for the general safety, the provincial congress of Massachusetts Bay, and the colonial troops encamped before Boston, were not without their cares and their toils. In the American army great disorder prevailed. Entirely unaccustomed to military subordination, many of the militia came to camp, stayed a few days, and then returned home. The army, which at first amounted to 20,000 men, dwindled down to less than a third of that number, and gave no flattering prospect of success in a protracted contest with regular troops. But some skirmishes happened, on occasion of bringing off cattle from the islands in the vicinity of Boston, in which the Americans were successful; and this greatly elated them.

In the end of May and beginning of June, generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with reinforcements from Britain, arrived at Boston. The British general, in common with his troops, indignant at being cooped up by a tumultuary force which all despised, resolved on active operations; but every movement which they made was watched with an attentive eye by zealous Americans in Boston, who found means to penetrate into every design before it was carried into execution, and to transmit secret intelligence to the American head-quarters. About the middle of June, it was suspected that general Gage intended to cross the river Charles, on the north side of Boston, and take possession of Breed's or Bunker's hill, in the peninsula of Charlestown. That peninsula has the river Mystic, or Medford, on the north, and the river Charles on the south, separating it

from the peninsula of Boston. It is level towards the sea; but, nearly opposite Boston, a considerable eminence runs across the peninsula, between the rivers Medford and Charles, at the bottom of which, on the banks of the last named river, stood Charlestown, opposite Boston.

On the night of the 16th of June, upwards of 1000 Americans, under colonel William Prescot, were ordered to proceed to this eminence, and to entrench themselves upon it. The movement was not without difficulty and danger; for British vessels of war were lying both in the Medford and Charles, on each side of the narrow peninsula. But the provincials marched to the place in profound silence; and, about midnight, began their operations. They laboured with such assiduity, that before the dawn of day they had thrown up a breastwork, nearly across the peninsula, and constructed a small redoubt on their right.

About four in the morning of the 17th of June, the American works were observed by the captain of the Lively sloop of war, lying in the river Charles, who instantly began a heavy fire upon them, and was soon joined by the other ships, and by the battery on Cope's hill at Boston. The Americans steadily continued their labours under a furious cannonade and an incessant shower of balls and bombs; but so harmless was this fearful noise that they lost only one man in the course of the morning. As in this post the Americans overlooked Boston, it was necessary to dislodge them; and, for this purpose, soon after mid-day a detachment of British troops, under the command of generals Howe and Pigot, crossed the river in boats, and landed near the point of the peninsula; but, on observing the formidable position of the Americans, they waited for a reinforcement, which soon arrived. Meanwhile the steeples and the roofs of the houses in Boston, the eminences in the adjacent country, and the ships in the rivers were crowded with anxious spectators, agitated by different hopes and fears according to their different attachments and interests.

The main body of the American army encamped beyond Charlestown Neck were looking on; and generals Clinton and Burgoyne, and other British officers of high rank, took their station in the battery on Cope's Hill to view the approaching conflict.

While general Howe waited for his reinforcement, the Americans received an accession of strength, under generals Warren and Pomeroy, who crossed Charlestown Neck under a brisk cannonade from the shipping in the rivers, to join their countrymen and take part in the battle. By their arrival the provincial force was increased to 1500 at least. The Americans also took advantage of general Howe's halt to strengthen part of their position, by pulling down some rail-fences, forming the stakes into two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filling the interval with hay.

The British detachment, consisting of upwards of 2000 men, advanced towards the American line. The light infantry, commanded by general Howe, was on the right; the grenadiers, under general Pigot, on the left. They began the attack by a brisk cannonade from some field-pieces and howitzers, the troops proceeding slowly, and sometimes halting, to give time to the artillery to produce some effect. On advancing, the left set fire to Charlestown, a thriving town, containing about 300 wooden houses, besides other buildings, and entirely consumed it. The rising flames added not a little to the grandeur and solemnity of the scene.

Secure behind their entrenchments, the Americans reserved their fire, and silently waited the approach of the British, till within fifty or sixty yards, when they poured upon them an incessant and well directed discharge of musketry. The British returned the fire for some time, without attempting to advance: but the discharge from the American line was so close and so destructive, that the troops at length gave way, and fell back towards the landing place. By the vigorous exertions of their officers, however, they were again brought to the charge: and the Americans, again reserving their

fire till the troops were very near, directed it against them with the same deadly aim as before. Many fell: at one time, general Howe, for a few seconds, was left alone, every officer and soldier near him having been killed or wounded. The troops gave way a second time; but at that critical moment sir Henry Clinton arrived from Boston, and was very active in leading them back to a third and more successful attack, in which they entered the American lines with fixed bayonets. The colonists had nearly exhausted their powder, and hence their fire had slackened. Being mostly armed with old rusty muskets, and ill provided with bayonets, they were unprepared for a close encounter. They therefore retreated; and, in passing Charlestown Neck, were exposed to the fire of the Glasgow sloop of war, and two floating batteries, from which they sustained their greatest loss.

The British troops had suffered so severely in the engagement, that no pursuit was ordered; and, indeed, a pursuit could have served no good purpose, as the main body of the American army was at a small distance beyond the Neck, and the royal troops were in no condition to encounter it. They were protected merely by the ships of war and floating batteries in the rivers Charles and Medford. The battle lasted about an hour, during the greater part of which time there was an incessant blaze of musketry from the American line.

This was a severe battle; and, considering the numbers engaged, extremely destructive to the British; for nearly one half of the detachment fell. According to the return made by general Gage, they lost 1054 men; 226 of whom were slain on the field, and 828 wounded. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy wounded; among the former was major Pitcairn, whose inconsiderate conduct at Lexington had occasioned the first shedding of blood.

The Americans had 139 killed, 278 wounded, and thirty-six missing; in all 453. Among the killed were several provincial officers; but the death of general

Warren was particularly regretted by his countrymen. By profession this gentleman was a physician of unsullied reputation. He did every thing in his power to prevent a rupture; but when an appeal to arms became unavoidable he joined the colonial standard.

In this engagement the British officers did all that brave men could do; and the troops, though shaken by the destructive fire of the Americans, displayed much of their characteristic intrepidity. The Americans discovered far more courage and steadiness than could have been reasonably expected from an ill-disciplined militia, few of whom had before seen the face of an enemy.

After the engagement the British intrenched themselves on Bunker's Hill, the scene of action; and the Americans on Prospect Hill, at a small distance in front of them. The colonists had been driven from their entrenchments; the royal troops had suffered severely in the battle, and neither party was forward to renew the conflict. Each fortified his post, and stood on the defensive.

On the 2d of July, general Washington, accompanied by general Lee and several other officers of rank, arrived at Cambridge, the head-quarters of the provincial army. On his journey he had every where been received with much respect, and escorted by companies of gentlemen, who volunteered their services on the occasion.

General Washington found between fourteen and fifteen thousand men encamped before Boston; and he and the other generals exerted themselves in establishing more orderly conduct and exact discipline than had been observed before. Under their care the colonists in arms soon acquired somewhat of the mechanism and movements, as well as the name, of an army; but still they were ill-disciplined, ill-armed, and disorderly. Many of the officers, chosen by their men, were equally strangers to the skill and courage of soldiers and to the manners of gentlemen. Numbers of the privates from the southern colonies were disorderly and traitorous. The privates of the northern provinces were not deficient

in zeal or courage, but several of their officers disgraced their rank by low villany.

The Americans, who had been made prisoners at Bunker's Hill, were indiscriminately thrown into gaol at Boston, and treated with little humanity. On the 11th of August general Washington addressed a letter to general Gage on the subject, and informed him that his treatment of British prisoners should be regulated by that which the Americans experienced. General Gage replied that the prisoners had been treated with care and kindness, but indiscriminately, because he acknowledged no rank that was not derived from the king; and at the same time retorted on the Americans the charge of cruelty. General Washington replied, "I have taken time, sir, to make a strict enquiry, and find the intelligence you have received has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren; but even those execrable parricides, whose counsel and aid have deluged this country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly enraged people. You affect, sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own; I cannot conceive one more honourable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power."

This epistolary correspondence did not suspend military operations: some skirmishing took place between the advanced parties of the two armies; and the Americans fortified themselves on an eminence within half a mile of the British post on Bunker's Hill. There was a good deal of firing on the occasion, without much loss to either side; but it, in some measure, accustomed the colonists to the use of arms, the noise of artillery, and the operations of war.

The American army was extremely deficient in gunpowder; but, in the beginning of September, it received a supply of 7000 pounds from Rhode Island, procured, it is said, from the British forts on the coast of Africa,

in exchange for New England rum. Saltpetre was collected in all the colonies; powder-mills were erected at Philadelphia and New York; and upwards of 100 barrels of powder were abstracted by American agents from the magazine at Bermuda.

General Washington soon began to feel the difficulties of his situation. He perceived that the expense of maintaining the army far exceeded any estimate of congress, and was very uneasy on the subject. The time for which the continental soldiers (so the troops enlisted for the American army were named) were engaged to serve, was drawing to a close, and the danger of very short enlistments was felt. A council of war, therefore, unanimously agreed that the men about to be levied should be engaged till the 1st of December, 1776. This was a very inadequate remedy for the evil, which was severely felt in the course of the war; but some hopes of a reconciliation between Britain and the colonies were still entertained.

On the 10th of October general Gage sailed for Britain, and the command of the British army devolved on general (afterwards viscount) Howe, who issued a proclamation, condemning to military execution such of the inhabitants of Boston as should be caught attempting to leave the town without a written permission. About that time the royal cruisers on the coasts of New England began a system of predatory warfare against the inhabitants, which considerably injured, but neither intimidated nor subdued them. Captain Wallace of the Rose man-of-war, with two tenders, pursued a vessel which took refuge in the port of Stonington in Connecticut; and, on the morning of the 1st of September, he began to fire on the town, and continued his hostilities, with little intermission, throughout the day. He killed two men, damaged the houses, and carried off some vessels. At Rhode Island some firing took place between the minute men and the ships, on occasion of carrying off some cattle. Captain Wallace afterwards sailed to Bristol, and demanded 300 sheep, which not

being complied with, he began a heavy cannonade on the place, and continued it till some persons went on board and purchased the peace of the town with forty sheep.

On the 18th of October captain Mowat, with a few armed vessels, burnt the town of Falmouth in the northern part of Massachusetts Bay, and declared that his orders were to set on fire all the seaport towns between Boston and Halifax. The destruction of unprotected towns alarmed and exasperated, but did not intimidate, the colonists.

Among those who professed much zeal in the American cause, some were in reality devoted to the service of the British ministry. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay discovered that Dr. Church, a member of their own body, was carrying on an improper correspondence with a British officer in Boston. They expelled him from the house, and committed him to close confinement.

The troops in Boston were reduced to a very uncomfortable condition: they could not procure provisions and other necessaries from the country, and their maritime supplies were much interrupted; for, on the 9th of October, the assembly of Massachusetts Bay resolved to fit out armed vessels for the defence of the American coast; and afterwards appointed courts of admiralty, to condemn such captured vessels as should be proved to belong to persons hostile to the united American colonies. Privateers were soon at sea; and in a few days took an ordnance ship from Woolwich, and several store-ships, with valuable cargoes, which afforded a seasonable supply to the American camp, while the loss was severely felt by the British army in Boston. Congress also soon resolved to fit out and commission ships of war.

But although the British army in Boston was in very disagreeable circumstances, and success attended the naval operations of the Americans, yet the affairs of the provinces wore no flattering aspect. The term for

which many of the men had enlisted was about to expire, and they showed no inclination to renew their engagements unless they received a high remuneration for their services. Irritation of spirit had made them fly to arms; and, in the fervour of their zeal, they would at first have readily engaged to serve during the war: but the opportunity was lost, and congress severely felt the error in the course of the struggle; for the patriotism of the people was ephemeral, and their zeal for freedom was soon absorbed in considerations of interest. At the same time the colonial treasury was but ill-replenished, and the provincial paper-money soon became depreciated. In these circumstances congress, wishing by a bold movement to put an end to the war, or at least by the splendour of a successful operation to reanimate the zeal of the people, was desirous that an attack should be made on Boston; but a council of war deemed the measure inexpedient.

CHAP. VIII.

CANADA INVADED BY THE AMERICANS. — ST. JOHN'S TAKEN. — MONTREAL. — GENERAL PRESCOT TAKEN. — MONTGOMERY MARCHES AGAINST QUEBEC. — JOINED BY ARNOLD. — ATTACKS QUEBEC. — KILLED; AND TROOPS REPULSED. — ARNOLD WOUNDED. — ILL BEHAVIOUR OF THE AMERICANS TOWARDS THE CANADIANS. — GENERAL THOMAS ARRIVES. — RETREATS. — DIES. — SULLIVAN SUCCEEDS. — CEDARS. — SULLIVAN RETREATS. — IS PURSUED. — GENERAL CARLETON ADVANCES TO THE LAKES. — CREATES A FLEET. — BATTLE ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — GENERAL CARLETON RETIRES TO ISLE AUX NOIX. — CONGRESS. — SECOND PETITION. — BRITISH INTEREST IN NEW YORK. — FAILURE OF SECOND PETITION. — NEW HAMPSHIRE. — SHIPS OF WAR.

Congress early turned its attention towards Canada, and endeavoured to gain the co-operation, or at least to secure the neutrality, of the inhabitants, in its dispute with

Britain. The congress of the preceding year, although professing allegiance to the British crown, had circulated an address to the Canadians, evidently intended to render them disaffected to the British administration, and to make them enter into the sentiments and measures of the other provinces. Although that address did not make on the minds of the Canadians all that impression which was intended and desired, yet it was not altogether without effect; for the great body of the people wished to remain neutral in the contest.

Congress mistook the reluctance of the Canadians to engage in active operations against them, for a decided partiality to their cause; and resolved to anticipate the British, by striking a decisive blow in that quarter. In this purpose they were encouraged by the easy success of the enterprise against the forts on the lakes, and by the small number of troops then in Canada. They appointed general Schuyler commander of the expedition, with general Montgomery under him. Early in September, those officers, with about 1000 men, made a feeble attempt on Fort St. John, situated on the river Sorel, which flows from lake Champlain, and joins the St. Lawrence; but found it expedient to retire to Isle aux Noix, at the entrance of the lake, about twelve miles above the fort, and wait for reinforcements.

Meanwhile general Schuyler was taken ill, and returned to Albany, leaving the command in the hands of general Montgomery, with instructions to prosecute the enterprise, on receiving the expected reinforcements. The reinforcements arrived: the attack on Fort St. John was renewed; and, after a vigorous defence, it surrendered, about the middle of November. In it the Americans found a considerable number of brass and iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars, a quantity of shot and small shells, about 800 stand of small-arms, and some naval stores; but the powder and provisions were nearly exhausted.

During the siege of Fort St. John, Fort Chamblée had been taken, which furnished general Montgomery with

a plentiful supply of provisions, of which he stood greatly in need. General Carleton, who was on his way from Montreal to relieve the garrison, had been defeated; and the provincial colonel Allan, who had made an unauthorised attack on Montreal, was overcome and taken prisoner.

On the fall of Fort St. John, general Montgomery advanced against Montreal, which was in no condition to resist him. Governor Carleton, sensible of his inability to defend the town, quitted it, and next day general Montgomery entered the place. A body of provincials, under colonel Easton, took post at the mouth of the Sorel, and, by means of an armed vessel and floating batteries, commanded the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The British force, which had retreated down the river from Montreal, consisting only of about 120 soldiers, with several officers, under general Prescot, and accompanied by governor Carleton, in eleven vessels, seeing it impracticable to force the passage, surrendered by capitulation. The vessels contained a considerable quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition, which furnished a seasonable supply to the Americans. About midnight of the day before the capitulation, governor Carleton escaped down the river in a boat with muffled oars, and safely reached Quebec.

It was now the 19th of November, and the severe weather which had set in was very unfavourable to military operations. General Montgomery, a young man of superior talents and high spirit, found himself in extremely unpleasant circumstances. He was at the head of a body of armed men, many of whom were not deficient in personal courage, but all of them were strangers to military subordination. The term of service for which numbers of them were engaged was near an end; and, already weary of the hardships of war, they clamorously demanded a discharge. Nothing but devotion to his country could have made him continue in the irksome command. Hitherto his career had been successful, and he was ambitious of closing the campaign by some bril-

liant achievement, which might at once elevate the spirits of the Americans and humble the pride of the British ministry. With these views, even at that rigorous season of the year, he hastened towards Quebec, although he found it necessary to weaken his little army, which had never exceeded 2000 men, by discharging such of his followers as had become weary of the service.

About the middle of September, a detachment of 1100 men, under colonel Arnold, was sent from the camp in the vicinity of Boston, with orders to proceed across the country against Quebec, by a route which had not been explored, and was little known. The party embarked at Newbury, steered for the Kennebec, and ascended that river. But their progress was impeded by rapids, by an almost impassable wilderness, by bad weather, and by want of provisions. They separated into several divisions. After encountering many difficulties, the last division, under colonel Enos, was unable to proceed, and returned to the camp in the vicinity of Boston. But the other divisions, under Arnold, pressed forward amidst incredible hardships and privations, and triumphing over obstacles nearly insuperable. For a month they toiled through a rough, barren, and uninhabited wilderness, without seeing a human habitation, or the face of an individual, except those of their own party, and with very scanty provisions. At length, on the 9th of November, Arnold, with his force much diminished, arrived at Point Levi opposite Quebec.

His appearance was not unexpected; for the lieutenant-governor had been for some time apprised of his march. In the early part of his progress, Arnold had met an Indian, to whom, although a stranger, he had imprudently entrusted a letter to general Schuyler, under cover to a friend in Quebec. The Indian, instead of faithfully delivering the letter according to the directions which he had received, carried it to the lieutenant-governor, who, in order to prevent the Americans from passing the river, immediately removed all the canoes from Point Levi, and began to put the city in a posture of defence,

which before might easily have been surprised. On discovering the arrival of Arnold at Point Levi, the British commander stationed two vessels of war in the river to guard the passage; and, at that interesting crisis, colonel M'Lean, who had retreated before Montgomery, arrived from the Sorel, with about 170 newly raised troops, to assist in the defence of the place.

Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the British, on the night of the 14th of November Arnold crossed the river with 500 men, in thirty-five canoes, and landed unperceived near the place where the brave and enterprising Wolfe had landed about sixteen years before, thence named Wolfe's Cove. He had provided scaling-ladders; but was unable to carry them over the river along with his troops, and consequently was not in a condition to made an immediate attempt on the town. Instead, however, of concealing himself till he could bring forward his scaling ladders, and then make a sudden and unexpected attack by night, he marched part of his troops in military parade in sight of the garrison, and so put the British fully on their guard. He wished to summon them to surrender; but they fired on his flag of truce, and refused to hold any intercourse with him. He, therefore, on the 19th of the month, turned his back on Quebec, and marched to Point aux Trembles, about twenty miles above the city, where general Montgomery, with the force under his command, joined him on the 1st of December.

Soon after Arnold's retreat, governor Carleton arrived in Quebec, and made every exertion to put the place in a state of defence. Having brought the scaling ladders across the river, general Montgomery, with the whole of the American force, appeared before Quebec on the 5th of December. The garrison was then more numerous than the army which came to take the place. So greatly was the American force reduced, that it scarcely amounted to 1000 men; while general Carleton had about 1500 soldiers, militia, seamen, and volunteers, under his command.

General Montgomery sent a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender; but it was fired upon, as that of Arnold had been. He therefore, in the depth of a Canadian winter, and in the most intense cold, erected batteries; but his artillery was too light to make any impression on the fortifications. He therefore determined to storm the town; and the assault was made on the morning of the 31st of December.

About four o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a violent storm of snow, two feints and two real attacks were simultaneously made. The real attacks were conducted by Montgomery and Arnold. Montgomery, advancing at the head of about 200 men, fell by the first discharge of grape-shot from the works. Several of his best officers being killed, his division retreated. Arnold, at the head of about 300 men, in a different quarter, maintained a fierce and obstinate conflict for some time; but was at last wounded and repulsed. The death of Montgomery was the subject of much regret, as he had been universally loved and esteemed. On assembling after the assault, the provincials could not muster many more than 400 effective men, who chose Arnold their commander; and, in the hope of receiving reinforcements, resolved to remain in the vicinity of Quebec.

Sir Guy Carleton acquired much honour, not only by the brave defence of the city, but also by the humanity with which he treated all his prisoners. He fought as a soldier, and felt as a man. The Americans were not ignorant of their own great inferiority in point of numbers to the garrison, and were not without apprehensions of being attacked; but, although the garrison was three times more numerous than the blockading army, yet it was of such a mixed and precarious nature, that sir Guy Carleton did not deem it prudent to march out against the enemy.

A small reinforcement from Massachusetts reached the American camp, and all the troops that could be spared from Montreal marched to join their countrymen before Quebec; but the month of February was

far advanced before the army amounted to 960 men. Arnold, however, resumed the siege; but his artillery was inadequate to the undertaking, and made no impression on the works. Although unsuccessful against the town, he defeated a body of Canadians who advanced to relieve it.

When the Americans entered the province, many of the inhabitants were well disposed towards them; but by their ill behaviour they forfeited the good will and provoked the hostility of the Canadians. They not only neglected but ill-used the clergy; compelled the people, at the point of the bayonet, to furnish them with articles below the current prices; gave illegal or unsigned certificates for goods which they had received, and in consequence many of the certificates were rejected by the quarter-master-general; they made promises and did not perform them; and they insulted and abused the people when they demanded payment of their just debts. By such unworthy conduct they alienated the affections of the Canadians, who considered congress as bankrupt, and their army as a band of plunderers.

On hearing of such scandalous misconduct, congress ordered justice to be done to the Canadians, and the strictest military discipline to be observed. But in Canada the tide of popular sentiment and feeling was turned against the Americans, who, by their dishonourable practices, had awakened a spirit of indignation and hostility, which all the policy of governor Carleton had been unable to excite.

While the American army lay before Quebec, the troops caught the small-pox from a woman who had been a nurse in a hospital of the city; and the loathsome disease spread rapidly among them. In order to mitigate the ravages of this destructive malady, many of the men inoculated themselves, regardless of orders to the contrary. The reinforcements, which were daily arriving, had recourse to the same practice; and so general was the infection, that, on the 1st of May, although the army amounted to 2000 men, yet not

more than 900 were fit for duty. In this diseased state of the troops, medicines and every thing necessary for the sick were wanting. The men were also scattered for want of barracks. Major-general Thomas, who had been appointed to the command of the American army in Canada, arrived in camp on the 1st of May. He found the troops enfeebled by disease, ill-supplied with provisions, and with only a small quantity of ammunition. The river was opening below; and he was well aware that as soon as ships could force their way through the ice, the garrison would be reinforced. On the 5th of May, therefore, he resolved to retreat towards Montreal; and on the evening of the same day, he received certain information that a British fleet was in the river. Next morning some of the ships, by great exertion and with much danger, pressed through the ice into the harbour, and landed some troops.

The Americans were preparing to retire: general Carleton marched out to attack them; but, instead of waiting his approach, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind them their sick, baggage, artillery, and military stores. Many of those who were ill of the small-pox escaped from the hospitals and concealed themselves in the country, where they were kindly entertained by the Canadians till they recovered, and were able to follow their countrymen. General Carleton could not overtake the American army; but he took about 100 sick prisoners, whom he treated with his characteristic humanity.

The Americans retreated about forty-five miles, and then halted a few days; but afterwards proceeded to Sorel, in a deplorable condition, and encamped there. In this interval some reinforcements arrived; but general Thomas was seized with the small-pox, and died. He was succeeded in the command by general Sullivan.

The British had several military posts in Upper Canada; and the Americans established one at the Cedars, a point of land which projects into the St. Lawrence, about forty miles above Montreal. Captain Forster, who had marched from Oswyatchie, appeared

before this post with a company of regulars and a considerable number of Indians; and the American commanding officer, through terror of the Indians, surrendered the place after a short and feeble resistance. An American party of about 100 men, under major Sherburne, left Montreal to assist their countrymen at the Cedars; but as they approached that place, on the day after the surrender, and ignorant of that event, they were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a body of Indians and Canadians. After defending themselves for some time, the Americans were overpowered, and many of them fell under the tomahawks of the Indians. The rest were made prisoners.

Arnold, who in the month of January had been raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and who then commanded at Montreal, was desirous of recovering the Cedars, and of relieving the prisoners there; and for these purposes marched towards that place, at the head of about 800 men. But, on his approach, captain Forster gave him notice, that unless he agreed to a cartel, which had already been signed by major Sherburne and some other officers, the Indians would put all the prisoners to death. In these circumstances, Arnold reluctantly signed the cartel, and retired. Congress long hesitated and delayed to sanction this agreement.

Before the end of May, the British force in Canada was greatly increased; and, including the German mercenaries, was estimated at 13,000 men. That force was widely dispersed; but Three Rivers, about ninety miles above Quebec and as much below Montreal, was the general point of rendezvous. A considerable detachment, under general Frazer, had already arrived there. That detachment general Sullivan wished to surprise; and appointed general Thompson to command the troops in the expedition sent out for that purpose. The enterprise failed; Thompson was made prisoner, and his detachment dispersed, but without any great loss.

The royal military and naval forces having been collected at Three Rivers, a long village so named from its

contiguity to a river which empties itself into the St. Lawrence by three mouths, advanced by land and water towards the Sorel. General Sullivan had retreated up that river; and general Burgoyne was ordered cautiously to pursue him. On the 15th of June, general Arnold quitted Montreal, crossed the river at Longueille, marched on Chamblée, and conducted the army to Crown Point, with little loss in the retreat. Thus terminated the invasion of Canada, in which the American army endured great hardships, and sustained considerable loss, without any advantage to the cause in which it was engaged.

Although the Americans had failed in their attempt on Canada, they still occupied Crown Point and Ticonderago. General Carleton resolved to drive them from those posts; but that was an arduous task, for the British had not a ship on lake Champlain to oppose the American navy; and it was deemed unadvisable to advance, without first gaining the command of the lakes. The great aim was to obtain possession of the upper parts of the Hudson, to march to Albany, make themselves masters of the country in general Washington's rear, and open a communication between the British army in Canada and that at New York. The task was arduous; and general Carleton laboured with unwearied assiduity in providing the means of gaining a superiority on the lakes. In about three months, his efforts were crowned with success. Early in October, he had a formidable fleet, which rose, as if by magic, upon lake Champlain. It consisted of the Inflexible, carrying eighteen 12-pounders; one schooner, mounting fourteen 12-pounders, and another having twelve 12-pounders; a flat-bottomed vessel, carrying six 24 and six 12-pounders, besides howitzers; a vessel having seven 9-pounders; twenty gun-boats, each mounting a brass cannon, from 9 to 24-pounders; with other armed vessels, and a great number of transports and tenders. This fleet had been constructed with immense labour, part of the materials having been brought from a distance, and

many of the boats dragged up the rapids of the Sorel. The fleet was manned with 700 choice seamen, and under the command of captain Pringle.

The Americans were sensible of the importance of maintaining a superiority on the lakes, and had made every effort in their power for that purpose; but, from want of money, materials, and artificers, and from the disaffection of many of the inhabitants of the province of New York, their exertions had not been successful. Their fleet amounted only to fifteen vessels, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The largest schooner mounted only 12, 6, and 4-pounders. Arnold, as a man of desperate courage, was appointed to command this little fleet, which was, in every respect, greatly inferior to that of the British.

About the middle of October, the royal fleet, commanded by captain Pringle, and having general Carleton on board, proceeded up lake Champlain in quest of the Americans. The armed vessels were in front; the army, in many transports, brought up the rear. The whole had a gay and magnificent appearance. They found Arnold in an advantageous position, forming a line to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western bank. A warm engagement ensued; and the Inflexible and some other large British ships being hindered by an unfavourable wind from coming so near as to take an efficient part in the battle, Arnold was able, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, to maintain the conflict for some hours; when, night approaching, captain Pringle withdrew his ships from the action, but stationed them at a small distance only, with a view to prevent the escape of the Americans. In this engagement Arnold's largest schooner was burnt, and a gondola sunk.

Arnold, feeling his inability to renew the conflict next day, made his escape during the night, in the hope of reaching Ticonderago, and finding shelter under the guns of the fort. The wind was favourable, and next

morning he was out of sight of the British fleet. Captain Pringle ordered an immediate pursuit, overtook the Americans, and brought them to action before they reached Crown Point. Arnold fought with his usual resolution for about two hours; during which time, such of his fleet as were most ahead fled under a press of sail, and escaped to Ticonderago. Two galleys and five gondolas, which remained with him, made a desperate defence. At length one of them was compelled to strike her colours. Arnold was unable any longer to maintain the unequal conflict; but, disdaining to surrender, he ran his ships ashore, landed his men, and set his vessels on fire and blew them up. In the face of the most active and vigorous opposition, he preserved his crews, and prevented his ships from falling into the hands of the British.

General Carleton advanced with the fleet, and appeared off Crown Point, on the 15th of October. On his approach, a small American detachment, stationed there as an advanced post, set fire to the houses, and retired to Ticonderago, which generals Schuyler and Gates had determined to defend to the last extremity. General Carleton took possession of Crown Point, sent forward part of his fleet in sight of Ticonderago, and advanced with his army towards that place; but after viewing the works, and considering that winter was setting in, and the difficulty of bringing provisions from Canada to supply his army during that inclement season, he prudently resolved to retire; and put his army into winter quarters on the Sorel and its vicinity. Isle aux Noix was his advanced post.

While their armies were blockading Boston and fighting in Canada, congress were actively employed in devising and adopting such measures as they thought most conducive to the general welfare. On the 6th of July, 1775, they published a declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of their having taken up arms, and alleged that they were reduced to the painful alternative of unconditional submission to the tyranny of an

irritated ministry, or of resistance by force. The latter, said they, is our choice: we have counted the cost of the contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.

On the 8th of July, the members signed their famous second petition to the king. It was expressed in respectful language, well written, and declared their sentiments in a firm but dutiful manner. On the same day, they agreed to an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which they said, "We have again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and, to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode by which the united supplications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting; and we flatter ourselves that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of ministerial troops, and the repeal of those laws of the operation of which we complain, on the one part; and a disbanding of our army and a dissolution of our commercial associations, on the other." At the same time, they hinted at the danger to which British freedom would be exposed, if the spirit of liberty were crushed in America.

They also wrote a letter of thanks to the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, for their virtuous and spirited opposition to the oppressive and ruinous system of colonial administration adopted by the British cabinet. These several papers were transmitted to Richard Penn, whom congress requested to present their petition to the king. Mr. Penn sailed for England without delay.

The congress appointed commissioners to superintend Indian affairs, to prepare proper *talks* for the tribes, and to watch over the interests of the colonies in relation to them. While congress was attentive to guard against Indian hostility, and to gain Indian friendship, they exerted themselves to put the provinces in a posture of

defence, and recommended to all able-bodied men in the colonies, between sixteen and fifty years of age, immediately to form themselves into regular companies of militia, to acquire a knowledge of military exercise, and to select a fourth part of the militia in every colony as minute men, ready to march, on a minute's notice, wherever their assistance might be required. They also recommended to each colony to appoint a committee of safety to watch over the public welfare, during the recess of their respective assemblies and conventions, and to make all the provision in their power for the protection of their harbours and coasts.

Amidst the noise of arms and the contrivances of policy, the ceremonials of religion were not forgotten. The 20th of July was appointed as a general fast; and, on that day, the members of congress, in a body, attended public worship, both forenoon and afternoon. The day was observed in Philadelphia as the most solemn fast that had ever been held in that city; and it was punctually kept throughout the united colonies.

The congress appointed the establishment of a post-office, to extend from Falmouth in New England to Savannah in Georgia, and elected Benjamin Franklin postmaster-general. They also resolved to form an hospital for an army of 20,000 men, and nominated Dr. Church director and physician of it.

Congress also published an address to the people of Ireland, evidently intended to persuade them to take a lively interest in the cause of the colonies. They pronounced lord North's conciliatory bill unreasonable and insidious, and advised the colonies to reject it. Their resolutions, in general, were carried with much unanimity, and met with the cordial approbation and zealous support of a great majority of the colonists.

On the 1st of August, congress adjourned to the 5th of September; and the adjournment not only gave the members an opportunity of attending to their private affairs, but also of consulting their constituents; and it enabled those who secretly looked forward to independ-

ency to disseminate their opinions more freely by personal intercourse than they durst attempt by written correspondence.

The congress re-assembled at the appointed time, and resumed their labours. Their situation was difficult; and they were distracted and alarmed by many cares, apprehensions, and dangers. The great body of the people was on their side; but they were not ignorant of the fickleness of the multitude, or of their irresolution and instability in the course of a severe and protracted struggle. Many of the colonists were not unfriendly to the claims of Britain, or so lukewarm in the cause of the provinces as to be unwilling to hazard much in its support. The supporters of royal authority made hostile movements in several of the colonies; but they were crushed by the superior power of their opponents.

In New York, the British interest was stronger than in any of the other provinces; and the intrigues of Mr. Tryon, governor of that colony, gave congress considerable uneasiness; so that, with a view to his apprehension, they recommended to the several provincial assemblies, or committees of public safety, to arrest every person within their respective jurisdictions, whose being at large might endanger the safety of the colony, or the liberties of America. Of this recommendation Mr. Tryon seems to have been early apprised by Mr. Duane, one of the New York delegates, who was far from giving a cordial assent to the measures of congress; and the governor sought security on board the Halifax packet, then lying in the river.

In the month of August, the New York convention resolved to remove the cannon from the battery in the city, and appointed captain Sears to execute the measure. Captain Vandeput, of the Asia man-of-war, was privately informed of the intention; and, about midnight, when captain Sears entered on his work, captain Vandeput opened a heavy fire upon the place: but the Americans accomplished their purpose, without losing a man. The firing, during the silence of the night, greatly alarmed

the inhabitants of the towns, and is reported to have been heard at Philadelphia, ninety miles distant.

The congress was fully aware of the importance of preserving the command of the Hudson or North River; and, for that purpose, gave directions to erect batteries and place garrisons in the highlands: and they used all the means in their power to keep the royal party in New York in check, by stationing troops, on whom they could depend, in the vicinity of that city.

About the beginning of December, congress was informed of the fate of its second petition to the king, and that Mr. Penn had been told by authority that no answer would be returned to it. The great body of the colonists were sincerely desirous of an amicable adjustment of the differences with Britain, and many members of congress cherished the same feeling. To all persons of this description, the haughty manner in which the petition of congress had been treated was matter of deep disappointment and regret. They had fondly anticipated a different result. But there were a few who had more thoroughly penetrated the views and policy of the British cabinet, and who looked forward to humble submission or the independence of the colonies as the only alternatives that were before them, although they did not find it expedient openly to avow their opinion. These persons had agreed to the petition, but had entertained little expectation that it would lead to an amicable termination of the quarrel. In them its rejection excited neither surprise nor sorrow. All their measures had for some time been taken with a view to a final rupture; and they availed themselves of the supercilious treatment of the petition to embitter popular irritation, and to increase the number of their adherents.

The convention of New Hampshire applied to congress for directions how to carry on the administration of the colony, in the circumstances in which they were placed. Congress recommended to them to call a full and free representation of the people, to establish such a form of government as they deemed most conducive to the good

order, peace, and happiness of the province; thus setting an example of popular and independent government for the imitation of the colonies.

Congress recommended that Charlestown, in South Carolina, be defended against all the enemies of America; that the army before Boston consist of 20,000 men; and that particular colonies raise battalions at the expense of the continent; that four armed vessels be fitted out for the purpose of intercepting transports laden with warlike stores and other supplies to the enemy, and for the protection and defence of the united colonies. Congress deliberated with shut doors, and agreed, "That every member consider himself under the ties of virtue, honour, and love of his country, not to divulge, directly or indirectly, any matter or thing agitated or debated in congress before the same shall have been determined, without the leave of congress; or any matter or thing determined in congress, which the majority of congress shall order to be kept secret; and that, if any member shall violate this agreement, he shall be expelled this congress, and be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and liable to be treated as such; and that every member signify his assent to this agreement by signing the same." In this way, the proceedings of congress remained entirely unknown, except in so far as that body chose to publish them.

Congress appointed a committee to correspond with their friends in Britain and Ireland; and recommended that no colony should separately petition the king: they resolved to secure and bring away a quantity of powder in the island of Providence; to retaliate, on such British soldiers as fell into their hands, any sufferings that might be inflicted on American prisoners; and to provide thirteen armed ships, carrying from thirty-two to twenty-four guns each, of which Ezekiel Hopkins was appointed commander. Thus, before the end of the year 1775, although congress still made professions of loyalty to the king, yet every thing throughout the colonies was in a state of the most active preparation for war.

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CHAP. IX.

ARMIES AT BOSTON. — DORCHESTER HEIGHTS. — BOSTON EVACUATED. — GENERAL HOWE SAILS FOR HALIFAX. — BRITISH VESSELS TAKEN. — AMERICANS MARCH TO NEW YORK. — SOUTH CAROLINA REGULATORS. — CUNNINGHAMS. — MAJOR WILLIAMSON. — PROVINCE FORMS A TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT. — CHARLESTOWN. — FORT SULLIVAN OR MONTERIE ATTACKED. — BRITISH REPULSED. — INDIANS. — MOSES KIRKLAND. — CHANGE IN THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PEOPLE, AND OF CONGRESS. — DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

At Boston, the hostile armies remained quiet during the severity of winter; but early in the morning of the 14th of February, 1776, general Howe sent a detachment over the ice to Dorchester Neck, and burnt a few houses. This expedition merely served to make the Americans more sensible of the importance of establishing themselves on Dorchester heights. General Washington was inclined to make an attack on Boston: to that, however, a council of war did not agree; but proposed to take possession of Dorchester heights, which are on the south of Boston, as Bunker's Hill is on the north, and so render the British post in Boston untenable. The measure was resolved on, and preparations made for carrying it into execution. Accordingly, on the evening of the 4th of March, a strong detachment silently crossed Dorchester Neck, arrived at their places of destination, and laboured incessantly in raising fortifications. In order to conceal this movement, the Americans had, for some days before, kept up a heavy fire on Boston, with little effect; and it had been as ineffectually returned by the British.

The noise of artillery prevented the pick-axes and other implements of the Americans from being heard, although the ground was hard frozen, and could not easily be penetrated. So incessantly did they labour, that during the night they raised two forts, with other

defences, which in the morning presented to the British a very formidable appearance. On viewing these works, general Howe remarked, that the rebels had done more in one night than his whole army would have done in a month. He determined to dislodge them, and made the necessary preparations for attacking them next day. But in the night a violent storm arose, which drove some of his vessels ashore on Governor's Island; and in the morning it rained so heavily that the attack could not be made.

General Howe called a council of war, which was of opinion that the town of Boston ought to be evacuated as soon as possible; since the Americans had got time to strengthen their works, so as to render an attack on them very hazardous. For their own defence, the provincials had provided a number of barrels filled with stones and sand, ready to be rolled down on the assailants as they ascended the hill; a device which would have broken the line of the most steady and intrepid troops, and thrown them into confusion. That the heights of Dorchester had been so long neglected may appear surprising; but, during winter, the American army was both weak and ill provided, and general Howe had no troops to spare.

In Boston all was bustle and confusion; the troops and the friends of the British government preparing to quit the town. General Howe was desirous of removing all his stores of every kind; and his adherents wished to carry off all their effects. In the view of abandoning the town, the soldiery were guilty of the most shameful excesses, plundering the shops and houses, and destroying what they could not take away. About four o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 17th of March, the troops, about 7000 in number, and some hundreds of loyal inhabitants, began to embark; and they were all on board and under sail before ten. The evacuation of the place was so sudden that an adequate number of transports had not been prepared, and much confusion and inconvenience were experienced on board. The fleet, however, remained several days in Nantucket roads and

burnt the block-house in Castle Island, and demolished the fortifications. A considerable quantity of stores was left behind in Boston.

General Washington was soon informed of the evacuation of Boston, and took prompt measures for preserving the peace of the town. He soon entered it, amidst the triumphant gratulations of the citizens, whose joy on their deliverance, from what they considered the degrading oppression of a British army, was enthusiastic. At first it was not known to what quarter general Howe would direct his course; but, apprehensive of an immediate attack on New York, general Washington, on the day after the evacuation, despatched five regiments, under general Heath, towards that city, and soon followed with the main body of his army.

In a few days it was ascertained that general Howe, instead of sailing to the southward, had steered for Halifax. But he left some cruisers to watch the entrance into Boston, and to give notice of the evacuation to such British vessels as were destined for that port. Notwithstanding that precaution, however, several ships and transports, ignorant of what had happened, sailed into the harbour, and became prizes to the Americans, who, by their naval captures, procured a most seasonable supply of arms and ammunition. In this way lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with nearly 300 highlanders, after a brave resistance, was taken by some American privateers.

General Howe remained a considerable time at Halifax, to refresh his troops, exhausted by the fatigues and privations of the blockade; and general Washington marched to New York.

A considerable time elapsed before the armies under generals Howe and Washington again confronted each other; but while there was a pause in military operations in the north, events of importance happened in the south. In South Carolina the friends of congress were decidedly most numerous; but the adherents of the British ministry were neither few nor inactive. The supporters of colonial measures, however, had their

system far better organised, their communications more regular, their union more complete, and their zeal was more enthusiastic. The friends of ministry, though sufficiently obstinate in their opposition to congress, had no well concerted plan, no acknowledged leaders, no centre of union, and no definite point on which their exertions were made to bear. Little accustomed to abstract speculations, and strangers in a great measure to the principles of civil government, many had no adequate conceptions of the points at issue between the contending parties. Some thought that all the commotions had been excited about a trifling tax on tea, an article which they seldom used, and in the taxation of which they felt little interest; they therefore refused to subscribe the engagement entered into by the non-importation associations.

Another circumstance contributed to deter numbers from entering rashly into any popular combination. About the year 1770, the difficulty of bringing offenders in the back settlements to justice had induced a body of men, who called themselves *regulators*, to take the law into their own hands, and to inflict corporal punishment according to their own discretion, and on their own authority. To suppress such irregularities, lord Charles Greville Montague, then governor of the province, raised a person named Scovil, of low character, to the rank of colonel; and empowered him to put an end to the abuses of the regulators, and to enforce the law among them. Scovil executed his commission with rigour; and many of those against whom his authority was directed, suffered severely by his arbitrary exercise of power. Hence many looked with a suspicious eye on congresses, conventions, and committees, and were afraid lest by giving them any countenance they should involve themselves in calamities similar to those which befell the regulators.

The zealous provincialists, on the other hand, wished to force all to join the non-importation associations, and afterwards to enrol in the militia. Many refused, and quarrels arose. Camp was pitched against camp; but, after some negotiation, a treaty was entered into by the

parties, in which it was agreed that the royalists should remain in a state of neutrality. A temporary calm ensued: but Mr. Robert Cunningham, who had been a principal leader among the royalists, persisted in encouraging opposition to popular measures; and declared that he did not consider himself bound by the treaty which had been entered into. The popular leaders, instead of giving him time to carry his hostile purposes into execution, apprehended and imprisoned him. His brother, Patrick Cunningham, armed his friends in order to release him. In that design they did not succeed; but they seized 1000 pounds of gunpowder, which was public property, and which was passing through their settlements as a present to the Cherokees; and propagated the most calumnious reports against the provincial leaders, for sending powder to the Indians at a time when the colonists could not procure that important article for their own defence.

Major Williamson marched against Cunningham and his party; but was obliged to retreat before their superior force; and at last found it necessary to take refuge in a stockade fort, where Cunningham besieged him. But after a few days a sort of truce was entered into, and both parties dispersed. At that time internal divisions in the province were extremely dangerous: for a formidable invasion from Britain was daily expected; and a British force in front, with disaffected colonists and unfriendly Indians in the rear, threatened the adherents of congress with ruin.

Lord William Campbell, governor of the province, had uniformly recommended to the royalists to remain quiet till the arrival of a British force. His prudent advice was not followed; and the friends of congress were eager to crush all internal opposition before the arrival of foreign troops. They, therefore, despatched a considerable army into the settlements of the royalists; some of whom fled beyond the mountains or into Florida, and they who remained were completely overawed.

Meanwhile the province formed for itself a temporary

constitution of government, established boards and courts for conducting public business, and provided as well as it could against the impending storm from Britain.

Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, stands on a point of land which lies between the rivers Cooper and Ashley, which falls into a bay of the Atlantic; and in the bay there are several islands. The people resolved to fortify the capital of the province; and for that purpose erected a fort on Sullivan's Island, which lies in the bay, about six miles below the town, and near the channel leading to it. The fort was constructed with the wood of the palmetto; a tree peculiar to the southern states, which grows from twenty to forty feet high, without branches, and terminates in a top resembling the head of a cabbage. The wood of the tree is remarkably spongy; and a ball entering it makes no extended fracture, but buries itself in the wood, without injuring the adjacent parts. The fort was mounted with about thirty cannon; 32, 18, and 9-pounders.

In the latter part of the year 1775 and beginning of 1776, great exertions had been made in Britain to send an overwhelming force into America; and on the 2d of June the alarm guns were fired in the vicinity of Charlestown, and expresses sent to the militia officers to hasten to the defence of the capital with the forces under their command. The order was promptly obeyed; and some continental regiments from the neighbouring states also arrived. The whole was under the direction of general Lee, who had been appointed commander of all the forces in the southern states, and had under him the continental generals, Armstrong and Howe.

The utmost activity prevailed in Charlestown. The citizens, abandoning their usual avocations, employed themselves entirely in putting the town into a respectable state of defence. They pulled down the valuable storehouses on the wharfs, barricadoed the streets, and constructed lines of defence along the shore. Relinquishing the pursuits of peaceful industry and commercial gain, they engaged in incessant labour, and prepared for

bloody conflicts. The troops, amounting to between five and six thousand men, were stationed in the most advantageous positions. The second and third regular regiments of South Carolina, under colonels Moultrie and Thomson, were posted on Sullivan's Island. A regiment, commanded by colonel Gadsden, was stationed at Fort Johnson, about three miles below Charlestown, on the most northerly point of James's Island, and within point blank shot of the channel. The rest of the troops were posted at Haddrel's Point, along the bay near the town, and at such other places as were thought most proper. Amidst all this bustle and preparation, lead for bullets was extremely scarce, and the windows of Charlestown were stripped of their weights, in order to procure a small supply of that necessary article.

While the Americans were thus busily employed, the British exerted themselves with activity. About the middle of February, an armament sailed from the Cove of Cork, under the command of sir Peter Parker and earl Cornwallis, to encourage and support the loyalists in the southern provinces.

After a tedious voyage, the greater part of the fleet reached Cape Fear, in North Carolina, on the 3d of May. General Clinton, who had left Boston in December, took the command of the land forces, and issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inhabitants who laid down their arms; but that proclamation produced no effect. Early in June, the armament, consisting of between forty and fifty vessels, appeared off Charlestown bay, and thirty-six of the transports passed the bar, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Some hundreds of the troops landed on Long Island, which lies on the west of Sullivan's Island, and which is separated from it by a narrow channel, often fordable. On the 10th of the month, the Bristol, a fifty-gun ship, having taken out her guns, got safely over the bar; and on the 25th, the Experiment, a ship of equal force, arrived, and next day passed in the same way. On the part of the British every thing was now ready for action. Sir

Henry Clinton had nearly 3000 men under his command. The naval force, under sir Peter Parker, consisted of the Bristol and Experiment, of fifty guns each; the Active, Acteon, Solebay, and Syren frigates, of twenty-eight guns each; the Friendship, of twenty-two, and the Sphinx, of twenty guns; the Ranger sloop, and Thunder bomb, of eight guns each.

On the forenoon of the 28th of June, this fleet advanced against the fort on Sullivan's Island, which was defended by colonel Moultrie, with 344 regular troops, and some militia, who volunteered their services on the occasion. The Thunder bomb began the battle. The Active, Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay followed boldly to the attack, and a terrible cannonade ensued. The fort returned the fire of the ships slowly, but with deliberate and deadly aim. The contest was carried on during the whole day with unabating fury. All the forces collected at Charlestown stood prepared for battle; and both the troops and the numerous spectators beheld the conflict with alternations of hope and fear, which appeared in their countenances and gestures. They knew not how soon the fort might be silenced or passed by, and the attack immediately made upon themselves; but they were resolved to meet the invaders at the water's edge, to dispute every inch of ground, and to prefer death to what they considered to be slavery.

The Sphinx, Acteon, and Syren were ordered to attack the western extremity of the fort, which was in a very unfinished state; but, as they proceeded for that purpose, they got entangled with a shoal, called the Middle Ground. Two of them ran foul of each other: the Acteon stuck fast; the Sphinx and Syren got off, the former with the loss of her bowsprit, the latter with little injury; but, happily for the Americans, that part of the attack completely failed.

It had been concerted that, during the attack by the ships, sir Henry Clinton, with the troops, should pass the narrow channel which separates Long Island from Sullivan's Island, and assail the fort by land: but this

the general found impracticable; for the channel, though commonly fordable, was at that time, by a long prevalence of easterly winds, deeper than usual. Sir Henry Clinton and some other officers waded up to the shoulders; but, finding the depth still increasing, they abandoned the intention of attempting the passage. The seamen, who found themselves engaged in such a severe conflict, often cast a wistful look towards Long Island, in the hope of seeing sir Henry Clinton and the troops advancing against the fort; but their hope was disappointed, and the ships and the fort were left to themselves to decide the combat. Although the channel had been fordable, the British troops would have found the passage an arduous enterprise; for colonel Thomson, with a strong detachment of riflemen, regulars, and militia, was posted on the east end of Sullivan's Island to oppose any attack made in that quarter.

In the course of the day the fire of the fort ceased for a short time, and the British flattered themselves that the guns were abandoned; but the pause was occasioned solely by the want of powder, and when a supply was obtained, the cannonade recommenced as steadily as before. The engagement, which began about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, continued with unabated fury till seven in the evening, when the fire slackened, and about nine entirely ceased on both sides. During the night all the ships, except the Acteon which was aground, removed about two miles from the island. Next morning the fort fired a few shots at the Acteon, and she at first returned them; but, in a short time, her crew set her on fire and abandoned her. A party of Americans boarded the burning vessel, seized her colours, fired some of her guns at commodore Parker, filled three boats with her sails and stores, and then quitted her. She blew up shortly afterwards.

In this obstinate engagement both parties fought with great gallantry. The loss of the British was considerable. The Bristol had forty men killed, and seventy-one wounded; Mr. Morris, her captain, lost an arm. The

Experiment had twenty-three men killed, and seventy-six wounded; captain Scott, her commander, also lost an arm; lord William Campbell, the late governor of the province, who served on board as a volunteer, received a wound in his side which ultimately proved mortal; commodore sir Peter Parker received a slight contusion. The Acteon had lieutenant Pike killed, and six men wounded. The Solebay had eight men wounded. After some days the troops were all reimbarked, and the whole armament sailed for New York. The garrison lost ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded. Although the Americans were raw troops, yet they behaved with the steady intrepidity of veterans. In the course of the engagement the flag-staff of the fort was shot away; but serjeant Jasper leaped down upon the beach, snatched up the flag, fastened it to a sponge staff, and, while the ships were incessantly directing their broadsides upon the fort, he mounted the merlon and deliberately replaced the flag. Next day president Rutledge presented him with a sword, as a testimony of respect for his distinguished valour. Colonel Moultrie, and the officers and troops on Sullivan's Island, received the thanks of their country for their bravery; and, in honour of the gallant commander, the fort was named Fort Moultrie.

The failure of the attack on Charlestown was of great importance to the American cause, and contributed much to the establishment of the popular government. The friends of congress triumphed; and numbers of them, ignorant of the power of Britain and of the spirit which animated her counsels, fondly imagined that their freedom was achieved. The diffident became bold: the advocates of the irresistibility of British fleets and armies were mortified and silenced; and they, who from interested motives had hitherto been loud in their professions of loyalty, began to alter their tone. The brave defence of Fort Moultrie saved the southern states from the horrors of war for several years.

The government of South Carolina wisely took ad-

vantage of the moment of success to conciliate the good-will of their opponents in the province. Cunningham and other adherents of royal power, who for a considerable time had been closely imprisoned, on promising fidelity to their country, were set at freedom and restored to all the privileges of citizens. The repulse of the British fleet at Fort Moultrie left the Americans at liberty to turn their undivided force against the Indians, who had attacked the western frontier of the southern states with all the fury and carnage of savage warfare.

In the year 1775, when the breach between Great Britain and her colonies was daily becoming wider, one Stuart, the agent employed in conducting the intercourse between the British authorities and the Cherokees and Creeks, used all his influence to attach the savages to the royal cause, and to inspire them with jealousy and hatred of the Americans. He found little difficulty in persuading them that the Americans, without provocation, had taken up arms against Britain, and were the means of preventing them from receiving their yearly supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing from the British government.

Moses Kirkland, an inhabitant of South Carolina, whose vanity and ambition had not been sufficiently gratified by his countrymen, was employed by Stuart and other royalists to concert measures with general Gage for a joint attack, by sea and land, on the southern states, while the savages should fall upon their rear. Kirkland was taken on his voyage to Boston, his papers were seized, and the plot was fully discovered. The Americans endeavoured to conciliate the good-will of the Indians, but their scanty presents were unsatisfactory, and the savages resolved to take up the hatchet. Accordingly, when the British fleet under sir Peter Parker appeared in Charlestown Bay, the Cherokees invaded the western frontier of the province, marking their course, as usual, with murder and devastation. The speedy retreat of the British fleet left the savages exposed to the vengeance of the Americans, who, in se-

parate divisions, entered their country at different points, from Virginia and Georgia, defeated their warriors, burned their villages, laid waste their corn-fields, and rendered the Cherokees incapable, for the mean time, of giving the settlers further annoyance. Thus, in the south, the Americans at this time triumphed over the arms both of the British and of the Indians.

Intelligence of the rejection of their second petition, and of the cold indifference observed towards Mr. Penn by the British government, reached congress in November, and awakened a strong sensation throughout the provinces. It convinced the colonists in what light their conduct was viewed by the British cabinet, and what they had to expect from the parent state. It appeared obvious that there was no medium between unconditional submission and absolute independence. The colonists saw that they must either abandon every thing for which they had hitherto been contending, or assert their freedom by force of arms; and many of them were struck with the incongruity of professing allegiance to a power which their marshalled battalions were opposing with all their might.

That men who had been accustomed to no rigorous subordination, and to few restraints, and many of whom entertained visionary notions of the extent of their rights and privileges, should, without a struggle, submit to descend from the proud rank of freemen to what they considered the degradation of slavery, — that they should abandon every thing which they held dear, and become the crouching subjects of a suspected, despised, and oppressed dependency of the British empire, — was scarcely to be expected. The colonists spurned the thought of such degradation. Entirely emancipated from the antiquated notions of prerogative which guided the councils of the British cabinet, the provincial leaders took the most prompt and efficacious measures in order to give a new bias to the public mind, and to prepare the people for a new state of things. Independence, which, in the earlier stages of the quarrel had only been casually

and obliquely hinted, was now made a topic of public discussion. At first it alarmed timid and moderate men, who had a glimpse of the calamitous scenes which such a course would open before them. But the partisans of independence were bold and indefatigable: they laboured incessantly in rendering the subject more familiar to the popular ear and mind; the number of their adherents daily increased; and such was the posture of affairs, that many who had hitherto been hostile to a separation from Britain, became friendly to that measure, or ceased to oppose it. They thought circumstances so desperate that matters could not be rendered worse by the attempt, and success might be beneficial.

At that time the notorious Thomas Paine, who had shortly before arrived in America from England, published a pamphlet under the title of Common Sense, which had a prodigious influence in promoting the cause of independence: it was widely circulated and eagerly read. Although Paine was a man of no learning, and of very little knowledge, yet he had a shrewd understanding, and a confident and popular manner of writing, from which cause the extraordinary effect of this pamphlet on the public mind may be traced.

The subject having been discussed in a variety of ways in the different provinces; having in several of them met with more or less opposition; and the members of congress having received instructions on the point from their respective constituents, it was solemnly taken under consideration on the 4th of July, 1776; and a decree of independence was unanimously passed. The declaration of independence is a document of great importance, and clearly discloses the sentiments of the Americans; I shall therefore insert it at length.

"IN CONGRESS, JULY 4. 1776.

"*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.*

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands

which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: —That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness: that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed: but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of

immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

" He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

" He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

" He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

" He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

" He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

" He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

" He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

" He has created a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

" He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

" He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

" He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

" For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

" For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: for imposing taxes upon us without our consent: for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury: for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

" For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

" For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments: for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

" He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

" He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

" He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

" He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

" He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

" In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

" Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren; we have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

" We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the states of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right

do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

This declaration was signed by each of the members of congress, and by it the Thirteen United States of North America separated themselves for ever from the crown of Great Britain, and declared themselves an independent people.

This was a result by no means anticipated two years before by any of the provinces, or even by any of their delegates. Had any serious proposal of such a measure been introduced into the congress which met in 1774, it would inevitably have led to the dissolution of that body, and the entire submission of the provinces: because then the colonies were strongly attached to Great Britain, and utterly averse from a separation; but by the pertinacity of the British ministry, of whose false policy a few restless and active intriguers, chiefly of the northern provinces, took advantage, the quarrel daily became more violent; the minds of both parties were exasperated, their passions roused, and by continued irritation the affections of the colonists were entirely alienated from the mother-country. The declaration of independence was immediately sent to the provinces and to the army, and was every where received with demonstrations of joy.

This measure entirely altered the aspect of the contest, and gave a clear and definite view of the point at issue between the contending parties. We no longer see colonists complaining and petitioning with arms in their hands, and vigorously resisting an authority which they did not disavow; but a people asserting their independence, and repelling the aggressions of an invading foe.

The Americans alleged that the act of independence was forced upon them; that the quarrel had gone so far that it must terminate either in slavery or separation;

that the declaration of independence could place them in no worse condition than before; that it would tend to concentrate the views and confirm the patriotism of the people; and that they could consistently apply to foreign powers for assistance, enter into treaties and alliances with them; and that foreign powers would far more readily treat with an independent people, than with rebellious subjects of the British crown.

The British ministry were well aware that some things must, at times, be admitted, not because they are desirable, wise, or beneficial, but merely as the means of preventing greater evils, and as a gratuity to popular prejudice and passion. Unfortunately, however, their information on American affairs was not correct, and their concessions always came too late.

CHAP. X.

BATTLE OF BROOKLYN. — COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS MEET LORD HOWE. — BRITISH ARMY ENTERS NEW YORK. — FIRE THERE. — BATTLE OF THE BRUNX. — FORTS WASHINGTON AND LEE TAKEN. — GENERAL WASHINGTON PASSES THE DELAWARE. — LEE MADE PRISONER. — RHODE ISLAND TAKEN.

We formerly left general Howe at Halifax, and general Washington on his way to New York where he soon arrived with his army. In that city the British interest had been more powerful than in any other place in the provinces; and the struggle between the friends of British domination and of American freedom had been more doubtful there than in any other quarter. But by superior numbers and more daring activity, the adherents of congress had gained the ascendancy. On his arrival in the city, general Washington endeavoured to put it into a posture of defence; and as the British, by means of their fleet, had the command of the waters, he attempted to obstruct the navigation of the East and

North Rivers, by sinking vessels in the channels. He also raised fortifications at New York, and on Long Island; and made every preparation in his power for giving the British army a vigorous reception.

General Howe remained some time at Halifax; but after the recovery of his troops from the fatigue and sickness occasioned by the blockade of Boston, he embarked, sailed to the southward, and on the 2d of July landed, without opposition, on Staten Island, which lies on the coast of New Jersey, and is separated from Long Island by a channel called the *Narrows*. His army amounted to 9000 men; and his brother lord Howe, commander of the British fleet, who had touched at Halifax expecting to find him there, arrived soon afterwards, with a reinforcement of about 20,000 men from Britain. Thus general Howe had the command of nearly 30,000 troops, for the purpose of subjugating the American colonies; a more formidable force than had ever before visited those shores. General Washington was ill prepared to meet such a powerful army. His force consisted of about 9000 men, many of whom were ill-armed, and about 2000 more without any arms at all; but new levies were daily coming in.

On his arrival, lord Howe, by a flag, sent ashore to Amboy a circular letter to several of the late royal governors, and a declaration mentioning the powers with which he and his brother the general were invested, and desiring their publication. These papers general Washington transmitted to congress, who ordered them to be published in the newspapers, that the people, as they alleged, might be apprised of the nature and extent of the powers of these commissioners, with the expectation of whom it had been attempted to amuse and disarm them. General Howe wished to open a correspondence with general Washington; but without acknowledging his official character as commander-in-chief of the American armies; and for this purpose he sent a letter to New York, addressed to "George Washington, esquire." That letter the general refused to

receive, because it was not addressed to him in his official character. A second letter was sent, addressed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." That also, the general declined to receive; but acted in the most polite manner towards adjutant-general Paterson, the officer who bore it; who, on his part, behaved himself in a manner becoming his character as a gentleman. Congress approved of the conduct of general Washington on the occasion; and ordered that none of their officers should receive letters or messages from the British army unless addressed to them according to their respective ranks. But this dispute about a point of form was soon succeeded by the din of arms and the horrors of active warfare. The American army was not very formidable. In the month of July, indeed, it amounted to about 17,000 men, but a much greater number had been expected; of 15,000 new levies, that had been ordered, only 5000 had arrived in camp. But the quality and equipment of the troops were more discouraging than their numbers: they were ill-disciplined, ill-armed, and little accustomed to that subordination and prompt obedience, which are essential to the efficiency of an army. They were as deficient in ammunition as in armour; and, instead of being cordially united in the common cause, they were distracted by provincial jealousies, prejudices, and animosities.

This raw and ill-armed multitude was opposed to 30,000 troops, many of them veterans, all of them excellently equipped, and provided with a fine train of artillery. The Americans soon had the mortification to find that all their endeavours to obstruct the navigation of the rivers were ineffectual; for several British ships of war passed up the North River, without receiving any considerable damage from a heavy cannonade directed against them from the shore.

The American army was posted partly at New York, and partly on Long Island. General Greene commanded in the latter place; but that officer being taken ill, general Sullivan was appointed in his room. General

Howe, having collected his troops on Staten Island, and finding himself sufficiently strong to commence active operations, on the 22d of August crossed the Narrows without opposition, and landed on Long Island, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend.

The American division on the island, about 11,000 strong, occupied a fortified camp at Brooklyn, on a peninsula, opposite New York. Their right flank was covered by a marsh, which extended to the East River near Mill Creek; their left, by an elbow of the river named Wallabach Bay. Across the peninsula, from Mill Creek to Wallabach Bay, the Americans had thrown up entrenchments, secured by abattis, or felled trees with their tops turned outwards, and flanked by strong redoubts. In their rear was the East River, about 1300 yards wide, separating them from New York. In front of the fortified camp, and at some distance from it, a woody ridge obliquely intersected the island; and through that ridge there are passages by three different defiles: one at the southern extremity near the Narrows; another about the middle, on the Flatbush road; and a third near the north-east extremity of the hills on the Bedford road. Those defiles general Greene had carefully examined; and as it was evident that the British army must debark on the further side of the ridge, he resolved to dispute the passage of the defiles. General Sullivan, who succeeded to the command on the illness of general Greene, was not equally sensible of the importance of those passes. On the landing of the British, however, he sent strong detachments to guard the passes near the Narrows, and on the Flatbush road; but the more distant pass he did not duly attend to, merely sending an officer with a party to observe it, and give notice if the enemy should appear there. That was no adequate precaution for the security of the pass; and the officer appointed to watch it discharged his duty in the most slovenly manner.

General Howe soon learned that there would be little difficulty in marching by the most distant defile, and

turning the left of the Americans. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 27th of August, assisted by sir Henry Clinton, who had joined him some time before with the troops that had been employed in the unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island, he marched with a strong column towards that defile. In order to divert the attention of the Americans from that movement, he ordered generals Grant and Heister, with their respective divisions, to attack the passes near the Narrows and on the Flatbush road. General Grant proceeded to the southernmost defile. The American advanced guard fled on his approach; but the commander of the detachment appointed to guard that pass afterwards occupied an advantageous position, and bravely maintained his ground. General Heister, with the Hessians, skirmished on the Flatbush road.

While the attention of the Americans was engaged by the operations of those two columns, the main body of the British army proceeded without interruption through the most remote pass; and the American officer appointed to observe that road performed his duty so ill, that general Howe's column had nearly gained the rear of the American detachment who defended the pass on the Flatbush road, before he gave the alarm. That division had hitherto steadily resisted the Hessians; but being apprised of the progress of the hostile column on their left, and being apprehensive of an attack on their rear, they began to retreat. That movement, however, was too late; for they were met by the British, who had now gained their rear, and who drove them back on the Hessians, who, in their turn, compelled them to retreat towards the British. Thus, they were driven backward and forward between two fires, till, by a desperate effort, the greater part of them forced their way through the British line, and regained their camp.

The division which opposed general Grant fought bravely, and maintained their ground till informed of the defeat of the left wing, when they retreated in confusion; and, in order to avoid the enemy, who were far

advanced on their rear, the greater part of them attempted to escape along the dike of a mill-dam, and through a marsh, where many of them perished, but a remnant regained the camp. This division suffered severely, and the loss was much regretted, because many young men of the most respectable families in Maryland belonged to it, and fell on the occasion.

The British soldiers behaved with their usual courage, and it was with difficulty that they were restrained from instantly attacking the American camp: but general Howe, who always exercised a laudable care of the lives of his men, checked their impetuosity; perceiving that, without any great loss, he could compel the Americans to surrender, or to evacuate their camp. On that disastrous day, the Americans lost 2000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; among the latter were generals Sullivan, Woodhull, and Alexander, titular lord Stirling. They also lost six pieces of artillery. The British and Hessians had between 300 and 400 men killed or wounded.

To attempt the defence of the islands against an enemy with a triumphant navy was an error in the American plan of the campaign; but the loss of the battle, or at least the easy victory of the British, was owing to the incapacity of general Sullivan. He was full of confidence, and paid no due attention to the more distant pass; but the issue of the day showed him, that confidence is not always the harbinger of success. Had Greene commanded, the result would probably have been somewhat different.

In the evening, the victorious army encamped in front of the American works; and, on the morning of the 28th, broke ground about 600 yards from the redoubt on the left. The Americans soon became sensible that their position was untenable, and a retreat was resolved on; but the execution of that measure presented great difficulties. The East River, nearly a mile broad, and sufficiently deep to float vessels of war, was in their rear; the British had a strong fleet at hand; and the victorious

army was in front. Escape seemed impracticable; but, in the face of all those difficulties, the Americans, to the number of 9000 men, with their ammunition, artillery, provisions, horses, and carriages, on the evening of the 29th and morning of the 30th of August, by incredible exertions, passed over from Brookland, or Brooklyn, to New York, without the loss of a man. The retreat was accomplished in about thirteen hours, during the greater part of which time it rained incessantly; and, on the morning of the 30th, a thick fog hung over Long Island, and concealed from the British the operations of the enemy, while at New York the atmosphere was perfectly clear. The fog disappeared about half an hour after the American rear-guard had left the island. Thus, by great exertions and a fortunate combination of circumstances, the American army escaped from the perilous situation in which it had been placed.

The raw troops of the Americans were easily affected by a check; and their spirits were much depressed by the defeat on Long Island. Before seeing the face of an enemy each of them thought himself a hero, and the army of congress invincible; but the disaster on Long Island disappointed their hopes, humbled their pride, and sunk them almost into a state of despondency. Indeed, at that time, the army was in an alarming condition. In its intemperate zeal for liberty, the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had granted the soldiers the choice of their own officers; and they commonly made choice of such persons as were willing to share their pay with their constituents. The consequence was, that those troops were little else than a disorderly and disgraceful rabble in arms; and numbers of those popular officers, strangers to the sentiments, feelings, and manners of gentlemen, were guilty of the most shameful practices. Every man of honour felt indignant and ashamed at being obliged to associate, on a footing of equality, with those rude and villanous clowns. The militia had no conception of military subordination, were often very inefficient in the field, and frequently withdrew from the service at a most

critical moment. Besides, the army was agitated by provincial jealousies and quarrels. The medical department was in as deplorable a condition as any other. The regimental surgeons were extremely ignorant, and not a few of them scandalously dishonest, selling recommendations for furloughs and discharges for a shilling or even a sixpence each. The errors in the constitution of the American military force were now evident to every man of observation; but it was more easy to perceive than to rectify them.

After the battle of Brooklyn, general Sullivan was despatched, at his own request, to Philadelphia, with a verbal communication from lord Howe to congress, expressing a wish to hold a conference with some of the members, as private gentlemen of influence in the country. General Sullivan was instructed to inform lord Howe that congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, could not, with propriety, send any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace upon reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to learn the authority with which he was invested, to hear what propositions he had to make, and to report. On the 6th of September, they chose, as their committee, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge. This committee met lord Howe on Staten Island, opposite Amboy, on the 14th of the same month. He received them politely, but the conference proved fruitless; for the committee explicitly informed his lordship, that neither they, nor the congress which sent them, had authority to treat in any other capacity than as *independent states*. On that subject lord Howe had no instructions: the conference, of course, soon came to an end; and the committee reported to congress, that, in their opinion, lord Howe's commission contained no other powers than granting pardon, and receiving the colonies under the protection of the British government, on their submission.

This conference, although ineffectual with respect to

the object immediately in view, was of considerable service to the Americans. It arrested general Howe in the career of victory, and suspended, during its progress, the operations of the campaign. It afforded a pause to the dispirited Americans, and gave them time to rally their drooping spirits; a matter, in their circumstances, of no slight importance.

When the hope of an amicable accommodation vanished, general Howe, who had already taken possession of the islands lying in the sound between New York, Long Island, and the shore of Connecticut, resumed his military operations. The British army was on Long Island, and the Americans about New York separated from each other by the East River. The city of New York stands on the south-east end of an island, anciently named Manhattan, but now called by the name of the city. The Hudson, or North River, bounds it on the south-west. It is about fifteen miles long, and only two broad. After a brisk cannonade between the British batteries on Long Island and those of the Americans about New York, general Howe resolved to transport his army into the island of New York; and accordingly, on the 15th of September, general sir Henry Clinton, with 4000 men, crossed the East River in flat-bottomed boats, landed at Kipp's Bay, under cover of the fire of some ships of war, and, without opposition, took post on some high ground, called the Inclenberg, about three miles above New York. The American detachment appointed to defend the place, terrified by the cannonade of the ships, fled on the approach of the enemy, without firing a shot. General Washington met the fugitives on the road, drew his sword, threatened, and endeavoured to rally them: but his efforts were ineffectual; and his attendants seized the reins of his horse, and turned him away from the enemy. The rest of the British army soon followed general Clinton's detachment, and, after some slight skirmishing, took possession of New York, the American parties retreating to their main body posted on Morris's Heights, about ten miles distant.

Some miles in front of New York, the British army formed a camp quite across the island, having its flanks covered by ships of war, which the Americans attempted, in vain, to destroy by means of fire-ships. The American army, amounting to about 23,000 men, ill-provided, however, and ill-disciplined, was posted on advantageous ground, opposite to it, but at some distance. On the morning of the 16th of September, general Washington sent a detachment into a wood, in front of the left of the British line. General Howe despatched three companies of light infantry to dislodge them. A sharp conflict ensued; each party was reinforced; a severe firing was, for some time, kept up; and a number of men fell on each side. The Americans maintained their ground; and this trifling circumstance greatly raised their depressed spirits. This encounter demonstrated the value of brave and steady officers; for on the preceding day, at the landing of the British, the officers had been the first who ran; but, on the present occasion, the officers did their duty, and the troops steadily maintained their post.

On the 21st of September, a destructive fire broke out in New York, and reduced almost a fourth part of the city to ashes. It began in a dram shop, near the river, about one o'clock in the morning; and, as every thing was dry, and the houses covered with shingles instead of tiles or slates, the flames spread rapidly, and raged with great fury. Many of the citizens had removed from the town before the entrance of the British, the pumps and fire-engines were in bad order, and a brisk south wind fanned the flame. Two regiments of soldiers and many men from the fleet were employed to arrest the progress of the devouring element, and at length succeeded in extinguishing the fire, but not till it had consumed about 1000 houses.

The Americans have been accused of wilfully setting fire to the city. Such accusations, in similar circumstances, have at times been made; but in the present instance the charge seems unfounded. It is most likely

that the fire was occasioned by the inconsiderate revelry of the British sailors, who had been permitted to regale themselves on shore.

The Americans were strongly posted towards the northern extremity of the island of New York. To attack them in front was unadvisable, but general Howe resolved to make an attempt on their rear, or to hem them in on the island without the possibility of escape. For this purpose, leaving three brigades of British and one of Hessian troops to guard New York, early in the morning of the 12th of October he embarked the rest of the army in flat-bottomed boats, and, in the course of the same morning, landed at Frog's Neck, in the county of West Chester. But finding that place unsuitable to his purpose, he again embarked, proceeded to the mouth of Hutchinson's River, and landed there; when the troops had a skirmish with an American party, and succeeded in dislodging them from a narrow pass of which they had taken possession.

On the 21st of October, the main body of the British army marched to New Rochelle, lying on the sound which separates Long Island from Connecticut. There the second division of foreign troops, consisting of upwards of 5000 Hessians and Waldeckers, under general Knyphausen, with about 2000 baggage-horses, which had arrived in a fleet of seventy-two sail, joined general Howe.

General Washington's first intention was to maintain his position on the island of New York; but general Lee, in whose military talents and experience the army had great confidence, on joining the army after the successful defence of Charlestown, strongly remonstrated against that resolution, asserting that the British, by a chain of works, would completely hem in the Americans, and compel them to surrender, even without a battle. His representations induced general Washington, with the consent of a council of war, to alter his plan, and move his army from Kingsbridge to White Plains, on the left of his present position, maintaining a line parallel

to that in which the British army was marching, and separated from it by the river Brunx. On the 26th of October, the main body of the American army, consisting of about 17,000 ill-disciplined men, took possession of a slightly fortified camp on the east side of the Brunx, which an advanced detachment had been employed in preparing. A bend in the river covered their right flank, and general Washington posted a body of about 1600 men, under general M'Dougall, on a hill in a line with his right wing, but separated from it by the Brunx.

The British general having collected his troops, brought forward his artillery with considerable difficulty; and having got every thing ready for active operations, advanced in two columns towards the American camp. He accompanied the left column in person; general Clinton led the right. A distant cannonade began, with little effect on either side. The detachment on the hill, under M'Dougall, attracted the notice of general Howe, and he resolved to dislodge it. He ordered general Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, and colonel Donop, with the Hessian grenadiers, on that service; and they bravely performed it. On their advance, the American militia fled with precipitation; but about 600 regulars, who were under M'Dougall, vigorously defended themselves for some time. They were compelled, however, to retreat, and the British took possession of the hill; but they were at too great a distance to be able to annoy any part of the American line.

Three days afterwards, general Howe, having received reinforcements from New York and other quarters, resolved to attack the American camp. But a heavy rain during the whole night rendered the ground so slippery, that in the morning it would have been very difficult to ascend the acclivity of the hills on which the Americans were posted; and therefore it was deemed unadvisable to make the attempt.

General Washington, apprehensive of an attack, and doubtful of the issue on the ground which he then occu-

pied, early in the morning of the 1st of November left his camp, retired towards North Castle, and took a strong position behind the river Crotton. General Howe, perceiving that it was the purpose of his adversary to avoid a general engagement, and finding it out of his power to force a battle, in such a country, unless in very disadvantageous circumstances, ceased to pursue the American army. He well knew that soon it would be almost dissolved, on the expiration of the term for which many of the men had engaged to serve: and therefore he turned his attention to the reduction of Forts Washington and Lee; the first on the island of New York, not far from King's Bridge, and the other on the Jersey side of the North River, nearly opposite the former. The Americans had flattered themselves, that by means of those two forts they would be able to command the navigation of the North River; but that had proved an illusion, as several British vessels had passed the forts without sustaining any injury from their fire. It had been debated in an American council of war, whether, in the present posture of their affairs, those two places ought to be retained. General Lee was decidedly of opinion that they ought to be abandoned; but general Greene urged the propriety of defending them, and his opinion prevailed.

Fort Washington was garrisoned by about 3000 men, under the command of colonel Magaw, who thought he could defend the place till about the end of December. On the 15th of November, general sir William Howe summoned the garrison to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword; but received for answer, that they would defend themselves to the last extremity. Early next morning, a vigorous attack was begun by the British and Hessian troops, in four divisions; and, after a severe engagement, in which the assailants lost about 1000 men in killed and wounded, colonel Magaw was compelled to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war: a clear proof that the colonel, who had been bred a lawyer, had but a very imperfect acquaintance

with military science. The fall of Fort Washington was a heavy blow to the infant republic, and greatly discouraged her raw and disorderly army.

Fort Lee, on the Jersey side of the river, nearly opposite to Fort Washington, next engaged the attention of the British general. That fort stood on a slip of land, about ten miles long, lying between the Hudson and the Hackensack, and English Neighbourhood, a branch of the Hackensack. Early on the morning of the 18th of November, earl Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, in flat-bottomed boats, passed through the communication between the East and North Rivers, by Kingsbridge, with the intention of cutting off the retreat of the troops in Fort Lee. General Greene, however, who commanded in those parts, being apprised of his movement, by a rapid march escaped with the main body of the garrison, but left behind some stragglers, and also his heavy artillery and baggage, which fell into the hands of the British. Thus the Americans were driven, with considerable loss, from the island of New York, and from the Jersey bank of the North River.

On the 12th of November, general Washington had crossed the North River with part of his army, and taken a position not far from Fort Lee, having left upwards of 7000 men at North Castle, under the command of general Lee. At that time, the American army was in a critical and alarming state. It was composed chiefly of militia and of men engaged for a short time only. The term of service of many of them was about to expire; and the republican military force was on the point of dissolution, in the presence of a well-disciplined, well-appointed, and victorious enemy.

In that threatening posture of public affairs, general Washington applied to the state of Massachusetts for 4000 new militia; and general Lee besought the militia under his command to remain for a few days after their term of service was expired. But the application of the commander-in-chief was not promptly answered; and

the earnest entreaties of general Lee were almost utterly disregarded.

On the fall of Forts Washington and Lee, general Washington, with his little army, of about 3000 effective men, ill-armed, worse clad, and almost without tents, blankets, or utensils for cooking their provisions, took a position behind the Hackensack. His army consisted chiefly of the garrison of Fort Lee, which had been obliged to evacuate that place with so much precipitation as to leave behind them the tents and most of the articles of comfort and accommodation in their possession. But although general Washington made a show of resistance by occupying the line of the Hackensack, yet he was sensible of his inability to dispute the passage of that river; he therefore retreated to Newark. There he remained some days, making the most earnest applications in every quarter for reinforcements, and pressing general Lee to hasten his march to the southward and join him.

On the advance of earl Cornwallis, general Washington abandoned Newark, and retreated to Brunswick, a small village on the Raritan. While there, the term of service of a number of his troops expired, and he had the mortification to see them abandon him. From Brunswick the Americans retreated to Trenton. There general Washington received a reinforcement of about 2000 men from Pennsylvania. He had taken the precaution of collecting and guarding all the boats on the Delaware from Philadelphia for seventy miles higher up the river. He sent his sick to Philadelphia, and his heavy artillery and baggage across the Delaware. Having taken these precautionary measures, and being somewhat encouraged by the reinforcements which he had received, he halted some time at Trenton, and even began to advance towards Princetown; but being informed that earl Cornwallis, strongly reinforced, was marching against him, he was obliged to seek refuge behind the great river Delaware. On the 8th of December he accomplished the passage

at Trenton Ferry, the van of the British army making its appearance just as his rear-guard had crossed.

General Washington was careful to secure all the boats on the south side of the river, and to guard all those places where it was probable that the British army might attempt to pass; so that his feeble army was secured from the danger of an immediate attack. The British troops made demonstrations of an intention to cross the river, and detachments were stationed to oppose them; but the attempt was not seriously made. In this situation the American commander anxiously waited for reinforcements, and sent some parties over the river to observe and annoy the enemy.

While general Washington was retreating through the Jerseys, he earnestly desired general Lee, who had been left in command of the division of the army at North Castle, to hasten his march to the Delaware and join the main army. But that officer, notwithstanding the critical nature of the case, and the pressing orders of his commander, was in no haste to obey. Reluctant to give up his separate command, and subject himself to superior authority, he marched slowly to the southward, at the head of about 3000 men; and his sluggish movements and unwary conduct proved fatal to his own personal liberty, and excited a lively sensation throughout America. He lay carelessly without a guard, and at some distance from his troops, at Baskingridge, in Morris county, where, on the 13th of December, colonel Harcourt, who, with a small detachment of light horse, had been sent to observe the movements of that division of the American army, by a gallant act of partisan warfare, made him prisoner, and conveyed him rapidly to New York. For some time he was closely confined, and considered not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the British army. The capture of general Lee was regarded as a great misfortune by the Americans; for at that time he enjoyed, in a high degree, the esteem and confidence of the friends of congress: on the other hand, the British exulted in his captivity, as

equal to a signal victory, declaring "that they had taken the American palladium."

General Sullivan, who on the 4th of September had been exchanged for general Prescott, when lord Stirling also had been exchanged for general M'Donald, succeeded to the command of Lee's division, and soon conducted it across the Delaware to general Washington's army. At the same time general Gates, with part of the army of Canada, arrived in camp. But even after the junction of those troops, and a number of militia of Pennsylvania, general Washington's force did not exceed 5000 men; for though many had joined the army, yet not a few were daily leaving it; and of those who remained, the greater part were raw troops, ill-provided, and all of them dispirited by defeat.

General Howe, with an army of 27,000 men, completely armed and disciplined, well-provided, and flushed with success, lay on the opposite side of the Delaware; stretching from Brunswick to the vicinity of Philadelphia, and ready, it was believed, to pass over as soon as the severity of the winter was set in, and the river completely frozen. To the Americans this was the most gloomy period of the contest; and their affairs appeared in a very hopeless condition. To deepen the gloom of this period, so alarming to the Americans, and to confirm the confidence of the British army, general Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, escorted by a squadron of men-of-war under sir Peter Parker, was sent against Rhode Island. The American force, incapable of making any effectual resistance, abandoned the island on general Clinton's approach; and on the day that general Washington crossed the Delaware, he took possession of it without opposition or loss. At the same time the British fleet blocked up commodore Hopkins's squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

CHAP. XI.

DEJECTION OF THE AMERICANS. — CONGRESS QUITS PHILADELPHIA. — SHORT ENLISTMENTS. — NEW ARMY. — COMMISSIONERS SENT TO DIFFERENT COURTS. — PARLIAMENT MEETS. — ATTACK OF TRENTON. — BATTLE OF PRINCETOWN. — AMERICANS AT MORRISTOWN. — PROCLAMATIONS.

When the American army retreated through the Jerseys, dejection and fear took possession of the public mind. General Washington called on the militia of that state to take the field; but his call was not obeyed. Fear triumphed over patriotism; and every one was more anxious to provide for his personal safety than to support the national cause.

On the 30th of November, when the sun of American independence seemed fast setting, lord Howe and the general judiciously issued a proclamation, promising pardon to those who should return to their allegiance, and subscribe a suitable obligation. Many took advantage of the proclamation, and submitted to the British government; and among these were all the richer inhabitants of the province, with a few exceptions. It was the middle class chiefly that remained steadfast in the day of trial and adversity. The consequence of this apathy, fear, and defection, was the retreat of general Washington across the Delaware, at the head of only 2000 men; and in a day or two afterwards even that small number was considerably diminished.

General Howe has been severely censured for not pressing the pursuit with more activity, and overwhelming general Washington before he found refuge behind the Delaware. That, however, would probably not have been so easily accomplished as some writers seem to imagine. The British commander would no doubt have attempted it, if he had been certainly informed of the real state of the American army in the Jerseys; but he well knew that

the British had often been grossly deceived by the accounts given them of the condition of the enemy. In that great convulsion, when all the passions of the parties were agitated and inflamed by the fury of the contest, most persons saw things through a deceitful medium, and gave them a colouring according to their own political inclinations or interests; and it was often difficult to ascertain the truth. It is easy to blame, with a semblance of reason, after events have passed by, when the mists arising from ignorance, passion, and interest, are dissipated, and when things are seen in their real circumstances and connections; but the case is very different when events are merely in progress, and when many facts are uncertain or unknown. Sir William Howe's conduct was marked rather by cool prudence than by daring enterprise or unwary impetuosity. He was as successful as any other British general during the course of the war, and he exposed himself to none of those disasters which overwhelmed more adventurous commanders.

On the 12th of December, congress quitted Philadelphia and retired to Baltimore, in Maryland. But under all the reverses which their cause had suffered, and in the most unpromising state of their affairs, they manifested an unshaken firmness. Their energy did not forsake them; there was no humiliation in their attitude, no despondency in their language, and no inactivity in their operations. Their fortitude was well supported by their brave, sagacious, and persevering commander-in-chief.

At first, the Americans fondly hoped that the war would not be of long duration; and, influenced partly by that deceitful expectation, and more perhaps by a wish not to discourage their adherents, congress had enlisted their soldiers for a year only. That error in their military system, which gave them much uneasiness, and exposed them to no small danger in the course of the war, now began to be severely felt, by the almost total dissolution of their army, in the presence of a victorious enemy. In order to remedy that defect in future, congress resolved that their soldiers should be bound to serve

for three years, or during the continuance of the war; and, on this principle, they ordered a new army of eighty-eight battalions to be raised, each state furnishing its due proportion. Virginia and Massachusetts were each to raise fifteen battalions; Pennsylvania, twelve; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Connecticut and Maryland, eight each; Rhode Island, two; Delaware and Georgia, one each; New Hampshire, three; New York and the Jerseys, being partly in possession of the enemy, were rated at only four battalions each. The appointment of officers in the battalions, and the filling up of vacancies, except in the case of general officers, was left to the several provincial governments.

But the first ebullition of popular patriotism had evaporated, selfish considerations had occupied its place; and, while all clamoured about freedom, each wished to make as few sacrifices as possible in order to obtain it. Of this state of things congress were fully sensible, and therefore endeavoured to overcome the general reluctance to the service, by present bounties and the prospect of future rewards. To induce men to enlist and fill up the battalions that had been ordered, congress promised a bounty of twenty dollars to each soldier, and an allotment of land, at the end of the war, to all who survived, and to the families of such as had fallen in the service. The allotments were proportioned to the rank of the individuals: a common soldier was to have 100 acres; an ensign, 150; a lieutenant, 200; a major, 400; a lieutenant-colonel, 450; and a colonel, 500. They who enlisted for three years only were not entitled to an allotment. No person was permitted to purchase another's allotment, which was to remain secure to him as a means of decent subsistence, when the public should no longer need his professional services.

Congress also offered a bounty to such foreign troops in British pay as should desert, and enlist under the republican banners: to a colonel, 1000 acres of land; to a lieutenant-colonel, 800; to a major, 600; to a captain, 400; to a lieutenant, 300; to an ensign, 200; and

to every non-commissioned soldier, 100. This measure was intended as a counterpoise to the promise of large grants of vacant land, at the close of the troubles, made by the British government to the highland emigrants, and other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their loyalty and zeal in the reduction of the country. In order to provide for the maintenance of their army, congress resolved to borrow 5,000,000 of dollars; and pledged the faith of the United States for the payment of principal and interest.

Although the continental governments of Europe felt no good-will towards the progress of liberty, and took no interest in the happiness of mankind; yet, from jealousy of the power and glory of Britain, they looked on the cause of the Americans with no unfavourable eye. Some indirect communications appear to have taken place between the cabinet of Versailles and congress; and, towards the end of September, congress elected Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, their commissioners to the court of France, with powers to enter into a treaty with the French king: they sailed for France soon afterwards.

In the course of the campaign, general Washington had severely felt the want of cavalry; congress, from a false economy, having declined to raise any of that kind of troops: he had also felt the want of artillerymen and engineers. Therefore congress having assembled, according to adjournment, at Baltimore on the 20th of December, resolved that general Washington shall be, and hereby is, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of those United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted; and to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip 3000 light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in

such places, as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American army; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency; and that these powers be vested in general Washington for the period of six months, unless sooner determined by congress. At the same time, congress turned its attention towards the Canadian frontier, and ordered works to be constructed for the security of the lakes George and Champlain.

While active in using all means for internal security and defence, congress were not careless of foreign relations. They resolved, without delay, to send commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, Prussia, and the grand duke of Tuscany, to assure those powers that the United States were determined to maintain their independence; to solicit the friendly aid of those courts, or their good offices in preventing any more foreigners in the pay of Great Britain from being sent against the states, and in procuring the recall of those that had been already sent.

Richard Stockton, a member of congress, had been made prisoner by the British and thrown into a common gaol. Congress was indignant at the treatment he received, and ordered general Washington to open a correspondence on the subject with general Howe, that it might be ascertained in what manner prisoners were to be treated, as the Americans were determined to retaliate on British prisoners any ill-usage which their adherents, who fell into the hands of the British, might meet with.

Congress also made a solemn and animated appeal to all the provinces of the union. They reminded the people of their grounds of complaint against the British government, and of the treatment which they had received from it. They assured them that nothing less than absolute submission would satisfy their enemies;

and emphatically asked them, whether they chose resistance or slavery. The appeal produced the desired effect, and the people prepared to continue the struggle with renewed vigour.

The British parliament met on the 26th of October, 1775, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the king set forth the refractory and rebellious conduct of his American subjects; that they had rejected every conciliatory proposition, and that he had it in contemplation to engage some foreign troops which had been offered him to serve in America; that it was necessary to compel the colonists to submission, but that he would be ready to receive them with tenderness and mercy, on their becoming sensible of their error. Ministry moved an address in full accordance with the speech, which was strenuously resisted by the opponents of the administration in both houses of parliament, and keen debates ensued; but ministry carried their point by large majorities, and the far greater number of the people fully concurred in the war.

The employment of foreign mercenaries against the colonists was strongly opposed in parliament; but the measure was adopted, which awakened a lively sensation in the provinces, where it was considered as an avowal that the mother country had entirely shaken off the remembrance of their propinquity, and indulged a spirit of rancorous hostility against them. Hence, numbers who had hitherto been moderate in their political sentiments, became steady adherents of the republican cause; while they who had formerly been refractory, became more determined in their opposition to the measures of the British government.

The second petition of congress, to which no answer had been returned, was brought under the notice of parliament, and Mr. Penn, formerly governor of Pennsylvania, was examined at the bar of the house of lords; but his examination was followed by no conciliatory results. About that time Mr. Edmund Burke, an eloquent member of parliament under the banners of the

opposition, introduced into the house of commons his conciliatory bill, which proposed to renounce the exercise of taxation in the colonies, without entering on the consideration of the question of right; reserving, however, to Great Britain the power of levying commercial duties, to be applied to those purposes which the general assembly of each province should judge most salutary and beneficial. The bill also proposed the repeal of all the laws complained of by the colonists, and the passing an immediate act of amnesty. But this, like every other conciliatory proposition, was unsuccessful.

The rejection of Mr. Burke's bill was followed by the introduction of one by ministry, prohibiting all intercourse with the colonies, which, after a keen opposition, passed both houses of parliament, and received the royal sanction. Notwithstanding the failure of Mr. Burke's conciliatory bill, Mr. Hartley introduced one of a similar tendency, but it met the fate of its predecessor. In the month of March, 1776, the duke of Grafton made a conciliatory motion, which also failed. Thus every attempt to restore harmony between Great Britain and her American colonies proved abortive.

From these ineffectual endeavours to restore peace, we now pass to the progress of the war.

When general Washington crossed the Delaware, winter was fast setting in; and it was no part of general Howe's plan to carry on military operations during that inclement season of the year. Fearless of a feeble enemy, whom he had easily driven before him, and whom he confidently expected soon to annihilate, he cantoned his troops rather with a view to the convenient resumption of their march, than with any regard to security against a fugitive foe. As he entertained not the slightest apprehension of an attack, he paid little attention to the arrangement of his several posts for the purpose of mutual support. He stationed a detachment of about 1500 Hessians at Trenton, under colonel Rhalle, and about 2000 at Bordentown, farther down the river, under count Donop; the rest of his army was quartered

over the country, between the Hackensack and the Delaware.

General Howe certainly had little apparent cause of apprehension; for his antagonist had fled beyond the Delaware at the head of only about 2000 men, while he had an army of nearly 30,000 fine troops under his command. The congress had withdrawn from Philadelphia; and, by their retreat, had thrown that city into much confusion. Their presence had overawed the disaffected, and maintained the tranquillity of the place; but, on their removal, the friends of the British claims, to whom belonged the great body of the quakers, a timid sect, began to bestir themselves; and general Putnam, who commanded there, needed a considerable force to preserve the peace of the city. The country was dejected; the friends of congress were filled with the most gloomy apprehensions; and many of the inhabitants repaired to the British posts, expressed their allegiance to the British crown, and claimed protection; so that in those circumstances general Howe seemed perfectly secure.

But in that alarming state of affairs the American leaders still maintained an erect posture, and their brave and persevering commander-in-chief did not despair. Congress actively employed all the means in their power for supporting their independence, and general Washington applied in every quarter for reinforcements. He perceived the security of the British commander-in-chief, and the advantages which the scattered cantonment of his troops presented to the American arms. "Now," exclaimed he, on being informed of the widely dispersed state of the British troops, "is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread;" and, accordingly, resolved to make a bold effort to check the progress of the enemy. For that purpose he planned an attack on the Hessians at Trenton. General Putnam, who was stationed in Philadelphia, might have been useful in creating a diversion on that side; but in that city the disaffection to congress was so great, and the

friends of Britain so strong, that it was deemed inexpedient to withdraw, even for a short time, the troops posted there. But a small party of militia, under colonel Griffin, passed the Delaware near Philadelphia, and advanced to Mount Holly. Count Donop marched against them, but, on their retreat, he returned to Bordentown.

General Washington formed his troops into three divisions, which were almost simultaneously to pass the Delaware, at three different places, on the evening of the 25th of December, hoping to surprise the enemy after the festivities of Christmas. One division, under general Cadwallader, was to pass the river in the vicinity of Bristol, but failed through inattention to the state of the tide and of the river, as they could not land on account of the heaps of ice accumulated on the Jersey bank. The second division, under general Irving, was to pass at Trenton Ferry, but was unable to make its way through the ice. The third and main division, under the command of general Washington in person, assisted by generals Sullivan and Greene, and colonel Knox of the artillery, accomplished the passage, with great difficulty, at M'Kenzie's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton. The general had expected to have his troops on the Jersey side about midnight, and to reach Trenton about five in the morning. But the difficulties, arising from the accumulation of ice in the river, were so great, that it was three o'clock in the morning before the troops got across, and nearly four before they began to move forwards. They were formed into two divisions, one of which proceeded towards Trenton by the lower or river road, and the other by the upper or Pennington road.

Colonel Rhalle had received some intimation that an attack on his post was meditated, and probably would be made on the evening of the twenty-fifth. Captain Washington, afterwards much distinguished as an officer of cavalry, had for some days been on a scouting party in the Jerseys with about fifty foot soldiers; and, ignorant of the meditated attack on the evening of the

twenty-fifth, had approached Trenton, exchanged a few shots with the advanced sentinels, and then retreated. The Hessians concluded that this was the threatened attack, and became quite secure. Captain Washington, in his retreat, met the general advancing against Trenton by the upper road, and joined him. Although some apprehensions were entertained that the alarm excited by captain Washington's appearance might have put the Hessians on their guard; yet, as there was now no room either for hesitation or delay, the Americans steadily continued their march. The night was severe: it sleeted, snowed, and was intensely cold, and the road slippery. But general Washington advanced firmly, and at eight o'clock in the morning reached the Hessian advanced posts, which he instantly drove in; and, so equal had been the progress of the columns, that in three minutes afterwards the firing on the river road announced the arrival of the other division.

Colonel Rhalle, who was a courageous officer, soon had his men under arms, and prepared for a brave defence; but, early in the engagement, he received a mortal wound, and his men, being severely galled by the American artillery, about 1000 of them threw down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war; but a considerable body of them, chiefly light horse, retreated towards Bordentown and made their escape.

In this attack not many Hessians were killed, and the Americans lost only four or five men, some of whom were frozen to death by the intense cold of the night. Some of general Washington's officers wished him to follow up his success, and he was much inclined to pursue that course; but a council of war was averse from the measure, and he did not think it advisable to act contrary to the prevailing opinion. On the evening of the twenty-sixth he repassed the Delaware, carrying his prisoners along with him, and their arms, colours, and artillery.

This enterprise, although it failed in several of its parts, was completely successful in so far as it was under

the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief, and it had a happy effect on the affairs of America. It was the first wave of the returning tide. It filled the British with astonishment; and the Hessians, whose name had before inspired the people with fear, ceased to be terrible. The prisoners were paraded through the streets of Philadelphia to prove the reality of the victory, which the friends of the British government had denied. The hopes of the Americans were revived, and their spirits elevated: they had a clear proof that their enemies were not invincible; and that union, courage, and perseverance, would ensure success.

The British troops in the Jerseys behaved towards the inhabitants with all the insolence of victory, and plundered them with indiscriminate and unmerciful rapacity. Filled with indignation at such insults, injustice, and oppression, the people were every where ready to flee to arms; and the success of their countrymen at Trenton encouraged their resentment and patriotic feelings.

Although general Cadwallader had not been able to pass the Delaware at the appointed time, yet, believing that general Washington was still on the Jersey side, on the 27th he crossed the river with 1500 men, about two miles above Bristol; and even after he was informed that general Washington had again passed into Pennsylvania, he proceeded to Burlington, and next day marched on Bordentown, the enemy hastily retiring as he advanced.

The spirit of resistance and insurrection was again fully awakened in Pennsylvania, and considerable numbers of the militia repaired to the standard of the commander-in-chief, who again crossed the Delaware and marched to Trenton, where, at the beginning of January, he found himself at the head of 5000 men.

The alarm was now spread throughout the British army. A strong detachment under general Grant marched to Princetown; and earl Cornwallis, who was on the point of sailing for England, was ordered

to leave New York, and resume his command in the Jerseys.

On joining general Grant, lord Cornwallis immediately marched against Trenton. On his approach, general Washington crossed a rivulet named the Asumpinek, and took post on some high ground, with the rivulet in his front. On the advance of the British army on the afternoon of the 2d of January, 1777, a smart cannonade ensued, and continued till night, lord Cornwallis intending to renew the attack next morning; but soon after midnight general Washington silently decamped, leaving his fires burning, his sentinels advanced, and small parties to guard the fords of the rivulet, and, by a circuitous route through Allentown, proceeded towards Princetown.

It was the most inclement season of the year, but the weather favoured his movement. For two days before it had been warm, soft, and foggy, and great apprehensions were entertained lest, by the depth of the roads, it should be found impossible to transport the baggage and artillery with the requisite celerity; but about the time the troops began to move, one of those sudden changes of weather which are not unfrequent in America happened. The wind shifted to the north-west, while the council of war which was to decide on their ulterior operations was sitting. An intense frost set in; and instead of being obliged to struggle through a miry road, the army marched as on solid pavement. The American soldiers considered the change of weather as an interposition of Heaven in their behalf, and proceeded on their way with alacrity.

Earl Cornwallis, in his rapid march towards Trenton, had left three regiments, under lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, at Princetown, with orders to advance on the 3d of the month to Maidenhead, a village about half way between Princetown and Trenton. General Washington approached Princetown towards daybreak, and shortly before that time colonel Mawhood's detachment had begun to advance towards Maidenhead, by a road at a little

distance from that on which the Americans were marching. The two armies unexpectedly met, and a smart engagement instantly ensued. At first the Americans were thrown into some confusion; but general Washington, by great personal exertions, restored order, and renewed the battle. Colonel Mawhood, with a part of his force, broke through the American army, and continued his route to Maidenhead; the remainder of his detachment, being unable to advance, retreated by different roads to Brunswick.

In this rencounter a considerable number of men fell on each side. The Americans lost general Mercer, whose death was much lamented by his countrymen. Captain Leslie, son of the earl of Leven, was among the slain on the side of the British; and he was buried with military honours by the Americans, in testimony of respect not to himself merely, but to his family also.

Early in the morning earl Cornwallis discovered that general Washington had decamped, and soon afterwards the report of the artillery in the engagement with colonel Mawhood near Princetown, convinced him of the direction which the American army had taken. Alarmed for the safety of the British stores at Brunswick, he advanced rapidly towards Princetown. In the American army it had indeed been proposed to make a forced march to Brunswick, where all the baggage of the British army was deposited; but the complete exhaustion of the men, who had been without rest, and almost without food for two days and nights, prevented the adoption of the measure. General Washington proceeded towards Morristown, and lord Cornwallis pressed on his rear; but the Americans, on crossing Millstone river, broke down the bridge at Kingston, to impede the progress of their enemies; and there the pursuit ended. Both armies were completely worn out, the one being as unable to pursue as the other was to retreat. General Washington took a position at Morristown, and lord Cornwallis reached Brunswick, where no small alarm had been excited by the advance of the Americans, and where every exertion

had been made for the removal of the baggage, and for defending the place.

General Washington fixed his head-quarters at Morristown, situated among hills of difficult access, where he had a fine country in his rear, from which he could easily draw supplies, and was able to retreat across the Delaware, if needful. Giving his troops little repose, he over-ran both East and West Jersey, spread his army over the Raritan, and penetrated into the county of Essex, where he made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. With a greatly inferior army, by judicious movements, he wrested from the British almost all their conquests in the Jerseys. Brunswick and Amboy were the only posts which remained in their hands, and even in these they were not a little harassed and straitened. The American detachments were in a state of unwearied activity, frequently surprising and cutting off the British advanced guards, keeping them in perpetual alarm, and melting down their numbers by a desultory and indecisive warfare.

General Howe had issued a proclamation, calling on the colonists to support his majesty's government, and promising them protection both in their persons and property. General Washington accompanied his successful operations with a counter-proclamation, absolving the inhabitants from their engagements to Britain, and promising them protection on their submission to congress. This was a seasonable proclamation, and produced much effect. Intimidated by the desperate aspect of American affairs when general Washington retreated into Pennsylvania, many of the inhabitants of the Jerseys had taken advantage of general Howe's proclamation, and submitted to the British authority; but with respect to the promised protection, they had been entirely disappointed. Instead of protection and conciliation, they had been insulted by the rude insolence of a licentious soldiery, and plundered with indiscriminate and unsparing rapacity. Their passions were exasperated; they thirsted for vengeance, and were prepared for the most vindictive

hostility against the British troops. Hence the soldiers could not venture out to forage, except in large parties; and they seldom returned without loss.

Equitable, mild, and kind treatment of the inhabitants of the several provinces, which the British troops overran in the course of the war, would probably have disarmed their hostility, and rekindled the ardour of ancient affection to the parent state; but, unfortunately, the licentious insolence and merciless rapacity of the soldiery lost more than their bravery gained, and inspired the people with a deadly enmity against the British government.

CHAP. XII.

PRISONERS OF WAR. — GENERAL LEE FALLS IN THE ESTIMATION OF THE AMERICANS. — PRINCIPLES OF UNION OF THE STATES. — NO NATIONAL CHURCH. — FINANCES OF CONGRESS. — SUPINENESS OF THE PEOPLE. — WAR POPULAR IN BRITAIN. — WEST INDIES. — PARTIALITY OF THE FRENCH TO THE AMERICANS. — PARLIAMENT MEETS. — LOYALISTS. — PREDATORY INCURSIONS. — STORES AT PEEKSKILL DESTROYED. — EARL CORNWALLIS ATTACKS GENERAL LINCOLN. — TRYON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST DANBURY. — PISCATAWAY ATTACKED. — SAGG HARBOUR. — GENERAL PRESCOTT TAKEN. — JERSEY INVADED. — GENERAL HOWE ADVANCES RAPIDLY FROM AMBOY. — EMBARKS, AND SAILS TO THE SOUTHWARD.

In ancient warfare, the vanquished who were unable to make their escape were not unfrequently put to death on the field of battle; at times their lives were spared, when they were sold as slaves, or otherwise treated with indignity and cruelty: but the mild genius of Christianity has communicated its gentle and benevolent spirit to all the relations of life, has softened even the horrid features of war, and infused sentiments and feelings of kindness amidst the din of arms. Among the civilised nations of modern Europe, prisoners of war are commonly treated with humanity, and principles are esta-

blished on which they are exchanged. The British officers, however, considered the Americans as rebels deserving condign punishment, and not entitled to the sympathetic treatment commonly shown to the captive soldiers of independent nations. They seem to have thought that the Americans would never be able, or would never dare, to retaliate. Hence, at first, their prisoners were, in some instances, harshly treated. To this the Americans could not submit, but remonstrated; and, on finding their remonstrances disregarded, they adopted a system of retaliation, which occasioned much unmerited suffering to individuals, and reflected no honour on any of the contending parties. Colonel Ethan Allan, who had been defeated and made prisoner in a bold but rash attempt against Montreal, was put in irons, and sent to England as a traitor. In retaliation, general Prescott, who had been taken at the mouth of the Sorel, was put in close confinement, for the avowed purpose of subjecting him to the same fate which colonel Allan should suffer. Both officers and privates, prisoners to the Americans, were more rigorously confined than they would otherwise have been; and, that they might not impute this to wanton harshness and cruelty, they were distinctly told that their own superiors only were to blame for any severe treatment they might experience.

The capture of general Lee became the occasion of embittering the complaints on this subject, and of aggravating the sufferings of the prisoners of war. Before that event, something like a cartel for the exchange of prisoners had been established between generals Howe and Washington; but the captivity of general Lee interrupted that arrangement. The general had been an officer in the British army; but having been disgusted, had resigned his commission, and, at the beginning of the troubles, had offered his services to congress, which were readily accepted. General Howe affected to consider him as a deserter, and ordered him into close confinement.

General Washington had no prisoner of equal rank, but offered six Hessian field-officers in exchange for him; and required that, if that offer should not be accepted, general Lee should be treated according to his rank in the American army. General Howe replied that general Lee was a deserter from his majesty's service, and could not be considered as a prisoner of war, nor come within the conditions of the cartel. A fruitless discussion ensued between the commanders-in-chief. Congress took up the matter; and resolved that general Washington be directed to inform general Howe, that should the proffered exchange of six Hessian field-officers for general Lee not be accepted, and his former treatment continued, the principle of retaliation shall occasion five of the Hessian field-officers, together with lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell, or any other officers that are or shall be in possession of the Americans, equivalent in number or quality, to be detained, in order that the treatment which general Lee shall receive may be exactly inflicted upon their persons. Congress also ordered a copy of their resolution to be transmitted to the council of Massachusetts Bay, and that they be desired to detain lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and keep him in close custody till the further orders of congress; and that a copy be also sent to the committee of congress in Philadelphia, and that they be desired to have the prisoners, officers and privates, lately taken, properly secured in some safe place.

The honourable lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 71st regiment, with about 270 of his men, after a brave and obstinate defence, had been made prisoners in the bay of Boston, while sailing for the harbour, ignorant of the evacuation of the town by the British. Hitherto the colonel had been civilly treated; but, on receiving the order of congress respecting him, the council of Massachusetts Bay, instead of simply keeping him *in safe custody*, according to order, with a barbarous zeal, sent him to Concord jail, and lodged him in a filthy and loathsome dungeon, about twelve or thirteen feet square.

He was locked in by double bolts, and expressly prohibited from entering the prison-yard on any consideration whatever. A disgusting hole, fitted up with a pair of fixed chains, and from which a felon had been removed to make room for his reception, was assigned him as an inner apartment. The attendance of a servant was denied him, and no friend was allowed to visit him.

That brave officer naturally complained to the commander-in-chief of such unworthy treatment; and general Howe addressed general Washington on the subject. The latter immediately wrote to the council of Massachusetts Bay, and said, "You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, that general Howe shows to general Lee; and as he is only confined to a commodious house, with genteel accommodation, we have no right or reason to be more severe to colonel Campbell, whom I wish to be immediately removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably."

General Lee was kept in confinement, till the capture of general Prescott put an officer of equal rank into the hands of the Americans, when an exchange was effected. At that time the British had nearly 300 American officers prisoners; while the Americans had not more than fifty officers belonging to the British service. In the month of January, almost all those American officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and billeted on the inhabitants at two dollars a week: but the privates were ill-lodged and ill-fed. The provisions which they received were deficient in quantity, and of the worst quality. Many of the men died of cold and hunger. Under that ungenerous treatment, they were importuned to enlist in the British service, but generally remained faithful to their engagements, under all their privations and sufferings. Avarice and an ignorant and cruel policy seem to have operated with joint influence in the treatment of the American prisoners. The contractors, indeed, filled their pockets by their nefarious practices towards the un-

happy men in their power; but they who expected, by such measures, to increase the strength of the British army, or to deter the colonists from joining the standards of their country, were utterly disappointed. Kind treatment might have gained good-will; but the harsh and unfeeling usage which many of them experienced only exasperated the passions of the Americans, and contributed to the recruiting of general Washington's army.

The capture of general Lee greatly lowered him in the estimation of the Americans. Before that event he had been considered as the guardian angel of the united colonies; but, when he fell into the hands of the British, not a few of his former admirers began not only lightly to esteem his talents, but even to suspect his fidelity: so fluctuating is popular admiration, and so much is it guided by appearances and success, rather than by merit.

While general Washington was actively employed in the Jerseys in asserting the independence of America, congress could not afford him much assistance; but that body was active in promoting the same cause, by its enactments and recommendations. Hitherto the colonies had been united by no bond but that of their common danger and common love of liberty. Congress resolved to render the terms of their union more definite, to ascertain the rights and duties of the several colonies, and their mutual obligations towards each other. A committee was appointed to sketch the principles of the union or confederation.

This committee presented a report in thirteen *Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union* between the states, and proposed, that, instead of calling themselves the UNITED COLONIES, as they had hitherto done, they should assume the name of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; that each state should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled; that they enter into a firm league for

mutual defence; that the free inhabitants of any of the states shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of free citizens in any other state; that any traitor or great delinquent fleeing from one state and found in another, shall be delivered up to the state having jurisdiction of his offence; that full faith and credit shall be given in each of the states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of every other state; that delegates shall be annually chosen, in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in congress on the first Monday in November, with power to each state to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead; that no state shall be represented in congress by less than two or more than seven members, and no person shall be a delegate for more than three out of six years, nor shall any delegate hold a place of emolument under the United States; that each state shall maintain its own delegates; that in congress each state shall have only one vote; that freedom of speech shall be enjoyed by the members; and that they shall be free from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace; that no state, without the consent of congress, shall receive any ambassador, or enter into any treaty with any foreign power; that no person holding any office in any of the United States shall receive any present, office, or title from any foreign state; and that neither congress nor any of the states shall grant any titles of nobility; that no two or more of the states shall enter into any confederation whatever without the consent of congress; that no state shall impose any duties which may interfere with treaties made by congress; that in time of peace no vessels of war or military force shall be kept up in any of the states but by the authority of congress, but every state shall have a well-regulated and disciplined militia; that no state, unless invaded, shall engage in war without the consent of congress, nor shall they grant letters of marque or reprisal till after a declaration of war by congress; that colonels and infe-

rior officers shall be appointed by the legislature of each state for its own troops; that the expenses of war shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, supplied by the several states according to the value of the land in each; that taxes shall be imposed and levied by authority and direction of the several states within the time prescribed by congress; that congress has the sole and exclusive right of deciding on peace and war, of sending and receiving ambassadors, and entering into treaties; that congress shall be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences between two or more of the states; that congress have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states, fixing the standard of weights and measures, regulating the trade, establishing post-offices, appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, except regimental officers, appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States, making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations; that congress have authority to appoint a committee to sit during their recess, to be denominated a *Committee of the States*, and to consist of one delegate from each state; that congress shall have power to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same, to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, to build and equip a navy, to fix the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; that the consent of nine states shall be requisite to any great public measure of common interest; that congress shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, but the adjournment not to exceed six months; and that they shall publish their proceedings monthly, excepting such

parts relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; that the *yeas* and *nays* of the delegates of each state shall, if required, be entered on the journal, and extracts granted; that the *Committee of the States*, or any nine of them, shall, during the recess of congress, exercise such powers as congress shall vest them with; that Canada, if willing, shall be admitted to all the advantages of the union; but no other colony shall be admitted, unless such admission shall be agreed to by nine states; that all bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, or debts contracted by congress before this confederation, shall be charges on the United States; that every state shall abide by the determinations of congress on all questions submitted to them by this confederation; that the articles of it shall be inviolably observed by every state; and that no alteration in any of the articles shall be made, unless agreed to by congress, and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every state.

Such was the substance of this confederation or union. After much discussion, at thirty-nine sittings, the articles were approved by congress, transmitted to the several state legislatures, and, meeting with their approbation, were ratified by all the delegates on the 15th of November, 1777. Congress maintained an erect posture, although its affairs then wore the most gloomy aspect. It was under the provisions of this confederation that the war was afterwards carried on; and, considered as a first essay of legislative wisdom, it discovers a good understanding, and a respectable knowledge of the structure of society. Had peace been concluded before the settlement of this confederation, the states would probably have broken down into so many independent governments, and the strength of the union been lost in a number of petty sovereignties.

It may be remarked that, even during the war, and more particularly after its close, provision was made in America for a system of public education; but neither any of the state legislatures nor congress have made a

provision for a provincial or a national religion. This is a novelty in the history of human society; but every novelty is not an improvement. National education has seldom been duly attended to; but a national religion was never before entirely disregarded. To what cause soever we ascribe this singularity of the North Americans, we may pronounce it a grand political and moral error; considering man merely as a member of society, and without any reference to the higher destinies of his nature.

In providing for national education, the Americans have done well; but in overlooking religion, they have erred: for these two are parts of one whole, and to rest satisfied with either without the other is to leave the work incomplete. It is to draw a portrait with only one eye. Every argument which shows the propriety of a national provision for education; is equally applicable to a national provision for religion: and any reasoning against the last of these is equally valid against the first. Religion is essential to society; and, to neglect it in rearing the social edifice, is to neglect the foundation on which society rests.

There are three things of great importance in forming the character of a valuable member of society; the education of the family, that of the school, and that of the church. The family is the first school, in which the hand of Providence itself places the infant mind: and if parents neglect to instil virtuous principles into their children, and to train them to good habits; if they neglect to inculcate upon them piety, benevolence, and integrity; and if they do not strengthen sound instruction and advice by a corresponding example; they fail in the most important duty which Providence has assigned them.

The school comes in aid of family tuition: and there, while the young person receives a secular education suitable to his condition and prospects in life, religion is not to be neglected; but, in the national school at least, religion ought not to be left to the discretion of the

teacher, but should be conducted according to a prescribed standard. Where the family and school leave the young person, the church takes him up, and carries on and confirms those pious and moral instructions which he has already imbibed. It binds man to man, and enforces the performance of every relative duty by the obligations which all owe to their common and invisible Father.

Where there is a national church, many will avail themselves of its worship and instructions, who otherwise would have taken no concern about any religious service. A national establishment acts with a unity, steadiness, and vigour, which private associations never possess, and gives a constant and equable impulse to the public mind, which the irregular and desultory efforts of unauthorised and casual institutions can never impart. A body of well educated and exemplary religious teachers, regularly and constantly distributed over a country, communicating the most interesting instructions, enforcing the practice of virtue by the most powerful motives, and illustrating their precepts by their lives, are of incalculable advantage to society. They direct the current of public opinion, make it flow in a great and undivided stream, and serve as a compass or a helm even to those who abandon national institutions, and conduct their worship in voluntary associations.

A people once accustomed to public worship will endeavour to supply themselves with spiritual guides, even although they receive no national countenance: that supply, however, will be irregular and partial; superabundant perhaps in large towns, but defective or altogether wanting in thinly inhabited districts. The provision made for the support of these religious instructors will in general be very inadequate, and not likely to attract genius or encourage learning. Although some of these teachers may be men of fine talents, may rise above their humble circumstances, and acquire extensive and correct information, yet the character of most of them will be modified by the situation in which they are

placed. The present state of America illustrates the foregoing observations, and the legislators of that country will yet regret the unsound policy of the founders of the republic on this subject.

Leaving these remarks, let us now attend to the proceedings of congress. The colonies had been drawn into the war by a train of unforeseen events, and had made no preparation for a great and protracted struggle. Their finances soon failed; and they severely felt the want of arms and military stores. About the middle of January, congress entered on the consideration of the state of the treasury, and resolved to provide funds for maintaining the war, by issuing bills, under their authority, which were to pass current, at their nominal value, in all payments and dealings throughout the States. In the difficult and embarrassing circumstances in which they were placed, it perhaps would not have been easy to have devised any better scheme for supporting the cause of the Union; but a compulsory paper currency was certainly a pernicious expedient, destined to prove most ruinous to those who had most confidence in it, and who were most devoted to the support of their country. In the catalogue of temporary and shifting expedients and of political delinquencies, a compulsory paper-currency is the most reprehensible, combining every kind of legislative rapacity in one sweeping act of dishonesty. It admits of no justification but unavoidable necessity; as one starving with hunger may urge a regard to self-preservation as a plea for stealing the property of his neighbour. The paper-currency of congress soon became depreciated. This led from one blunder into another, and induced them to attempt to fix the prices of commodities; a measure which must always prove abortive, and which introduced incalculable confusion and misery into America, involving many families in ruin.

Congress decreed a monument to the memory of general Warren, who fell at Bunker's Hill; and one to the memory of general Mercer, who was mortally wounded in the rencounter with colonel Mawhood near Prince-

town. They were much mortified and alarmed by the languor and supineness which every where prevailed. The people were already tired of the war, and every individual wished to attend to his own interest, without regard to the public welfare. In the army, there was little patriotic virtue or generous ambition. Many of the officers were actuated by selfish motives; while mean rivalships, jealousies, and petty quarrels prevailed among them.

During those convulsions in the colonies, the people of Great Britain, long accustomed to colonial complaints and quarrels, and attentive merely to their own immediate interests, paid no due regard to the progress of the contest, or to the importance of the principles in which it originated. Large majorities in both houses of parliament supported ministry in all their violent proceedings; and although a small minority, including several men of distinguished talents, who trembled for the fate of British liberty if the court should succeed in establishing its claims against the colonists, vigorously opposed the measures of administration, yet the great body of the people manifested a loyal zeal in favour of the war; and the ill success of the colonists, in the campaign of 1776, gave that zeal additional energy.

But, amidst all the popularity of their warlike operations, the difficulties of ministry soon began to multiply. In consequence of hostilities with the American provinces, the British West Indian islands experienced a scarcity of the necessaries of life. About the time when the West Indian fleet was about to set sail, under convoy, on its homeward voyage, it was discovered that the negroes of Jamaica meditated an insurrection. By means of the draughts to complete the army in America, the military force in that island had been weakened; and the ships of war were detained to assist in suppressing the negroes. By this delay, the Americans gained time for equipping their privateers. After the fleet sailed, it was dispersed by stormy weather; and many of the ships, richly laden, fell into the hands of the American cruisers,

who were permitted to sell their prizes in the ports of France, both in Europe and in the West Indies.

This unfriendly conduct of France was so openly manifested, that it could no longer be winked at, and it drew forth a remonstrance from the British cabinet. The remonstrance was civilly answered, and the traffic in British prizes was carried on somewhat more covertly in the French ports in Europe; but it was evident that both France and Spain were in a state of active preparation for war. The British ministry could no longer shut their eyes against the gathering storm, and began to prepare for it. About the middle of October, 1776, they put sixteen additional ships into commission, and made every exertion to man them.

On the 31st of October the parliament met, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty stated, that it would have given him much satisfaction if he had been able to inform them that the disturbances in the revolted colonies were at an end, and that the people of America, recovering from their delusion, had returned to their duty; but so mutinous and determined was the spirit of their leaders, that they had openly abjured and renounced all connection and communication with the mother-country, and had rejected every conciliatory proposition. Much mischief, he said, would accrue, not only to the commerce of Great Britain, but to the general system of Europe, if this rebellion were suffered to take root. The conduct of the colonists would convince every one of the necessity of the measures proposed to be adopted, and the past success of the British arms promised the happiest results; but preparations must be promptly made for another campaign. A hope was expressed of the general continuance of tranquillity in Europe, but that it was thought advisable to increase the defensive resources at home.

The addresses to the speech were in the usual form, but amendments were moved in both houses of parliament; in the commons by lord John Cavendish, and in the lords by the marquis of Rockingham. After an

animated debate the amendment was rejected, in the house of commons by 242 against 87, and in the lords by 91 against 26. During the session of parliament some other attempts were made for adopting conciliatory measures, but the influence of ministry was so powerful that they were all completely defeated, and the plans of administration received the approbation and support of parliament.

During the winter, which was very severe, the British troops at Brunswick and Amboy were kept on constant duty, and suffered considerable privations. The Americans were vigilant and active, and the British army could seldom procure provisions or forage without fighting. But although in the course of the winter the affairs of the United States had begun to wear a more promising aspect, yet there were still many friends of royalty in the provinces. By their open attachment to the British interest, numbers had already exposed themselves to the vengeance of the republicans; and others, from affection to Britain or distrust of the American cause, gave their countenance and aid to sir William Howe. Early in the season a considerable number of these men joined the royal army, and were embodied under the direction of the commander-in-chief, with the same pay as the regular troops, besides the promise of an allotment of land at the close of the disturbances. Governor Tryon, who had been extremely active in engaging and disciplining them, was promoted to the rank of major-general of the loyal provincialists.

The campaign opened on both sides by rapid predatory incursions and bold desultory attacks. At Peekskill, on the North River, about fifty miles above New York, the Americans had formed a post, at which, during the winter, they had collected a considerable quantity of provisions and camp equipage, to supply the stations in the vicinity as occasion might require. General Washington's position at Morristown was naturally strong, and during the winter he added many artificial fortifications. The most mountainous part of the district, named the Manor

of Courland, was formed into a kind of citadel, replenished with stores, and Peekskill served as a port to it. On the 23d of March, as soon as the river was clear of ice, general Howe, who thought Peekskill of more importance than it really was, detached colonel Bird, with about 500 men, under convoy of a frigate and some armed vessels, against that post. General M'Dougall, who commanded there, had then only about 250 men in the place. He had timely notice of colonel Bird's approach; and, sensible that his post was untenable, he exerted himself to remove the stores to the strong grounds about two miles and a half in his rear; but before he had made much progress in the work the British appeared, when he set fire to the stores and buildings, and retreated. Colonel Bird landed, and completed the destruction of the stores which he was unable to remove. On the same day he reimbarked, and returned to New York. The loss sustained by the Americans on this occasion was more considerable than they were willing to admit.

On the 13th of April, lord Cornwallis and general Grant, with about 2000 men, attempted to surprise and cut off general Lincoln, who, with 500 men, was posted at Bound Brook, seven miles from Brunswick, and nearly succeeded in their enterprise. But, by a bold and rapid movement, Lincoln, when almost surrounded, forced his way between the British columns and escaped, with the loss of sixty men, his papers, three field-pieces, and some baggage.

At that early period of the campaign, sir William Howe attempted no grand movement against the American commander-in-chief; but he made several efforts to interrupt his communications, destroy his stores, and impede his operations. He had received information that the Americans had collected a large quantity of stores in the town of Danbury, and in other places on the borders of Connecticut. These he resolved to destroy; and appointed major-general Tryon of the provincials, who panted for glory in his newly acquired character, to command an expedition for that purpose;

but prudently directed generals Agnew and sir William Erskine to accompany him.

On the 25th of April, the detachment, consisting of 2000 men, under a proper naval escort, left New York, passed the sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk, and, early next afternoon reached Danbury, about twenty-three miles distant. The small American force stationed there, being unable to make any effectual resistance, carried off part of the stores, and retreated from the town. General Tryon destroyed 1800 barrels of pork and beef; 700 barrels of flour; 200 barrels of wheat, rye, and maize; clothing for a regiment; and 1700 tents, which, on account of their scarcity, were very valuable to the Americans. At Danbury, the troops committed some atrocities; and at other places destroyed 100 barrels of flour, and 100 hogsheads of rum.

Having achieved these feats, on the morning of the 27th, general Tryon began to retire. His visit had been unexpected, and hitherto he had met with no resistance; but the alarm was now spread, and the generals Sullivan, Wooster, and Arnold, were active in assembling the militia. General Wooster, with a small party, pursued the retreating enemy, and attacked their rear; but this brave veteran received a mortal wound, and died, much regretted, in the seventieth year of his age. Arnold rapidly crossed the country, and posted himself at Ridgefield, with 500 men, in front of the British detachment. A smart engagement ensued; the Americans were compelled to retreat; and the British troops, quite exhausted, spent the night on their arms at Ridgefield.

On the morning of the 28th they resumed their march; but were assailed by an irregular and destructive fire of musketry from houses and from behind stone fences. Arnold took possession of a bridge over the Sagatuck, by which it was expected the British would be obliged to pass the river; but their guide led them to a ford three miles above the bridge, which the Americans, deeming impassable, had left unguarded. There

they crossed without opposition; but occasional skirmishing and cannonading took place till the British regained their ships.

The injury done to the Americans was considerable, but it did not compensate the loss which the British sustained in the expedition; for nearly 400 of their number were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans amounted only to about a third of that of the British. Many of the Connecticut militia took the field on this occasion; but only 600 or 700 subjected themselves to military authority. They who engaged actively in the contest discovered much spirit; not a few, however, acted a timid part, and were mere spectators of what passed. The people of New England, by their general courage and energy in repelling such incursions, gave no encouragement to the frequent repetition of those hostile visits. The death of general Wooster was much lamented, and congress decreed a monument to his memory. General Arnold's activity and courage met with the approbation of his superiors.

The British troops were not permitted to carry on their sudden incursions and predatory attacks without retaliation. On the 8th of May, general Stevens, with a considerable force, attacked the British post at Piscataway, where the 42d regiment was stationed; but, after a furious engagement, he was repulsed. A considerable quantity of grain, forage, and other necessaries, for the use of the royal army, was collected at Sagg Harbour in Long Island; where they were but slightly guarded, as the number of British cruisers in the sound seemed to secure them from all danger. Of these circumstances the American general Parsons gained information; and, on the 23d of May, he detached colonel Meigs, with a party of 170 men, who left Guildford in Connecticut, at one o'clock afternoon, crossed the sound in thirteen whale-boats, attended by three sloops; landed on the north part of the island near Southhold, at six o'clock in the evening; carried his boats over a neck of land; reimbarked, and crossed the bay between the north and

south parts of the island, and, at twelve o'clock at night, landed within four miles of Sagg Harbour. Leaving his boats under the protection of a slender guard, he advanced silently towards the place of destination, and, about two o'clock in the morning, began the attack with fixed bayonets. The alarm soon became general, and a discharge of musketry on both sides ensued; but the Americans succeeded in burning the stores and twelve vessels. They also killed six men, took ninety prisoners, and only six of the party who guarded the place escaped. Colonel Meigs, without having a man either killed or wounded, returned with his prisoners to Guildford, where he arrived at two o'clock on the 24th; having, in the space of twenty-five hours, traversed by sea and land no less than ninety miles.

When mentioning these achievements of desultory warfare, I may here relate another enterprise of the same kind, although it did not happen till the 10th of July,—the capture of general Prescott. That officer was commander of Rhode Island, and had his head-quarters on the west side of the island, near Narraganset Bay, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and at some distance from any body of troops. He was but slightly guarded, trusting chiefly for security to the numerous cruisers, and to a guard-ship, which lay in the bay opposite to his quarters.

Colonel Barton, at the head of forty men, officers and volunteers, passed by night from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island; and although they had a passage of ten miles by water, yet, by keeping near the land, they eluded the vigilance of the British ships of war and guard-boats which surrounded the island. They conducted their enterprise with such silence and address, that, about midnight, they reached the general's quarters undiscovered, secured the sentinel, surprised the general in bed, and, without giving him time to put on his clothes, hurried him on board, with one of his aides-de-camp, and conveyed him safely to Providence. This event was very mortifying to general Prescott, and to the royal

army; but occasioned much exultation among the Americans. Hitherto general Howe had absolutely refused to release general Lee, but he soon agreed to exchange him for general Prescott; and general Lee again joined the American army.

Having taken notice of these desultory enterprises, we shall now turn to the two main armies, under their respective commanders-in-chief.

In the beginning of June, general sir William Howe, having received from England his expected reinforcements and camp equipage, left New York and passed into the Jerseys, with the intention of immediately opening the campaign. He had under his command 30,000 men, well equipped and provided; and, to resist this formidable army, general Washington, on the 9th of June, could muster no more than 7271 men fit for duty. During the winter his army had been extremely weak; but, in the month of May, congress had been able to send him some recruits. After receiving this feeble reinforcement, towards the end of the month he left his strong camp at Morristown, and, advancing towards Brunswick, took a good position at Middlebrook, on the north side of the Raritan, about nine miles from that place. At Brunswick general Howe assembled his army on the 12th of June; but, judging it unadvisable to attack his adversary in the post which he had chosen, he employed every artifice to draw him into less advantageous ground. For this purpose he marched from Brunswick, in two columns, to Middlebush and Hillsborough, on the south of the Raritan, as if he meant to advance to the Delaware. Not deceived by this feint, general Washington remained in his camp, and satisfied himself with harassing the British army by skirmishing parties.

Perceiving that this movement did not draw general Washington from his camp, general Howe returned to Brunswick, committing terrible devastations in his march. On the 22d of June, he retreated to Amboy; an American detachment, under general Greene, hanging upon

his rear, and frequently attacking it. General Washington moved his army to Quibbletown, that he might still be near the British army.

General Howe sent his heavy baggage and all the encumbrances of his army from Amboy to Staten Island, and ordered part of the troops to follow; but, being informed that general Washington had left his strong ground, and was advancing in pursuit of him, on the evening of the 25th he recalled his troops from Staten Island; and, on the morning of the 26th, suddenly and unexpectedly advanced from Amboy with his whole army, in two columns, against the Americans, with the design of cutting off their advanced detachments, bringing general Washington to an engagement on open ground, or of gaining possession of the passes in the high lands on his left, and so compelling him to abandon the advantageous position which he had hitherto occupied. For the attainment of the object last mentioned, earl Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, set out early on the 26th of June, and, about seven o'clock in the morning, fell in with a numerous body of the enemy, under lord Stirling and general Maxwell. After a smart engagement, the Americans retreated with some loss; and general Washington, apprised of the unexpected movement of the British army, hastily returned towards the mountains, and regained possession of these passes which it was the intention of earl Cornwallis to seize.

Finding all his endeavours to bring the Americans to a general engagement ineffectual, on the 30th of June sir William Howe crossed to Staten Island, and, on the 5th of July, embarked his army, consisting of about 16,000 men, on board of transports, in order to sail to the southward. To gain possession of Philadelphia was his great aim; and, instead of attempting this by marching through the Jerseys and passing the Delaware, with an unbroken though greatly inferior army in his rear, he chose to carry his army towards the place of destination by sea, leaving general sir Henry Clinton with a respectable force to defend New York. But although

the army embarked on the 5th of July, it was the 23d of the month before the fleet, consisting of 267 sail, left Sandy Hook.

CHAP. XIII.

GENERAL HOWE LANDS AT THE HEAD OF THE ELK. — BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. — WAGNI SURPRISED. — BRITISH ENTER PHILADELPHIA. — BRITISH FLEET ENTERS THE DELAWARE. — BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. — FORT MIFFLEN. — RED BANK EVACUATED. — DELAWARE OPENED. — WHITE MARSH. — VALLEY FORGE. — NORTHERN CAMPAIGN. — GENERAL BURGOYNE COMMANDS THE BRITISH ARMY IN CANADA. — DETACHES ST. LEGER. — MEETS THE SAVAGES. — TAKES TICONDEROGO. — PROCEEDS TO FORD EDWARD. — SCHUYLER RETREATS. — EVENTS AT BENNINGTON. — ST. LEGER REPULSED AT FORT STANWIX. — GATES TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE AMERICAN ARMY. — MURDER OF MISS MACREA. — BATTLES OF STILLWATER AND SARATOGA. — BURGOYNE ATTEMPTS TO RETREAT. — IS OBLIGED TO SURRENDER.

THE movements of general Howe greatly perplexed the American commander-in-chief, who dreaded a junction of the forces under generals Howe and Burgoyne; and who could scarcely believe that the former would sail to the southward and abandon the latter, who was advancing from Quebec, by way of the Lakes Champlain and George, towards Albany. He also received contradictory accounts of the course which general Howe had steered: sometimes it was said that he was returning to the North River, and sometimes that the Delaware was the place of his destination, which last was the true account. But at that season of the year southerly winds prevail on the coast; and it was the 30th of July before the British commander reached the capes of the Delaware.

His original intention was to sail up the river to Philadelphia, which stands on its southern bank; but, being

informed that the Americans had obstructed the navigation, he altered his plan, and, still steering southward, entered Chesapeake Bay. On the appearance of the British armament off the Delaware, general Washington moved towards Philadelphia; but, being told that the fleet had again put to sea, his perplexity returned, and he held himself in readiness to march with the utmost rapidity towards the North River, if needful. But, on the 24th of August, he was relieved from his painful suspense by certain information that the British fleet had sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and that the army was landing at the head of the Elk River.

At the place of debarkation, the British army was within a few days' march of Philadelphia; no great rivers were in its way; and there was no very strong position of which the enemy could take possession. On landing, general Howe issued a proclamation, promising pardon and protection to all who should submit to him; but, as the American army was at hand, the proclamation produced little effect.

General Washington distinctly understood the nature of the contest in which he was engaged; and, sensible of the inferiority of his raw and disorderly army to the veteran troops under sir William Howe, he wished to avoid a general engagement: but, aware of the effect which the fall of Philadelphia would produce on the minds of the rude multitude, who have no fixed principle or steady purpose, and who are incapable of just and general views, he determined to make every effort in order to retard the progress and defeat the aim of the royal army. Accordingly, he marched to meet general Howe, who, from want of horses, many of which had perished in the voyage, and from other causes, was unable to proceed from the head of the Elk before the 3d of September. On the advance of the royal army, general Washington retreated across the Brandywine, a rivulet, or creek as the Anglo-Americans call such a stream, which falls into the Delaware at Wilmington. He took post, with his main body, opposite Chad's Ford, where it

was expected the British would attempt the passage; and ordered general Sullivan, with a detachment, to watch the fords above. He sent general Maxwell, with about 1000 light troops, to occupy the high ground on the other side of the Brandywine, to skirmish with the British, and retard them in their progress.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the British army advanced in two columns; the right, under general Knyphausen, marched straight to Chad's Ford; the left, under lord Cornwallis, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and generals Grey, Grant, and Agnew, proceeded, by a circuitous route, towards a point named the Forks, where the two branches of the Brandywine unite, with a view to turn the right of the Americans and gain their rear. General Knyphausen's van soon found itself opposed to the light troops under general Maxwell. A smart conflict ensued. General Knyphausen reinforced his advanced guard, and drove the Americans across the rivulet, to shelter themselves under their batteries on the north bank. General Knyphausen ordered some artillery to be placed on the most advantageous points, and a cannonade was carried on with the American batteries on the heights beyond the ford.

Meanwhile the left wing of the British crossed the fords above the Forks. Of this movement general Washington had early notice; but the information which he received from different quarters, through his raw and unpractised scouts, was confused and contradictory, and consequently his operations were embarrassed. After passing the fords, lord Cornwallis took the road to Dilworth, which led him on the American right. General Sullivan, who had been appointed to guard that quarter, occupied the heights above Birmingham church, his left extending to the Brandywine, his artillery judiciously placed, and his right flank covered by woods. About four in the afternoon lord Cornwallis formed the line of battle and began the attack: for some time the Americans sustained it with intrepidity, but at length gave way. When general Washington heard the firing in

that direction, he ordered general Greene with a brigade to support general Sullivan. General Greene marched four miles in forty-two minutes, but, on reaching the scene of action, he found general Sullivan's division defeated and fleeing in confusion. He covered the retreat; and, after some time, finding an advantageous position, he renewed the battle, and arrested the progress of the pursuing enemy.

General Knyphausen, as soon as he heard the firing of lord Cornwallis's division, forced the passage of Chad's Ford, attacked the troops opposed to him, and compelled them to make a precipitate and disorderly retreat. General Washington, with the part of his army which he was able to keep together, retired, with his artillery and baggage, to Chester, where he halted, within eight miles of the British army, till next morning, when he retreated to Philadelphia. Night, and the exhaustion of the British troops, saved the discomfited Americans from pursuit.

In Philadelphia the American commander-in-chief remained two days, collecting his scattered troops, replacing the stores lost in the battle, and making arrangements for his future movements. On the third day after the engagement he marched up the north side of the Schuylkill, crossed it at Sweed's Ford, and proceeded towards Lancaster.

In the battle at the Brandywine the Americans suffered considerable loss, having about 300 men killed, 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. They also lost ten small field-pieces and a howitzer. The loss of the British was much less, not exceeding five or six hundred killed and wounded. In the battle several foreign officers of distinction served in the American army: among these was the celebrated marquis de la Fayette; he was only about twenty years of age, and, animated by a youthful and enthusiastic love of liberty, had quitted his country, a plentiful fortune, and all the endearments of polished society, to fight under the banners of the infant republic at the most gloomy period of

the contest. At his own expense he purchased and fitted out a vessel to convey him to the American continent, and sailed, notwithstanding a prohibition of the French government, which did not then deem it expedient to throw off the mask. This battle was his first military service in the American cause, and in it he received a wound in the leg, but did not leave the field. Some other French officers were in the battle on the same side, and also count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman.

On the 16th of the month monsieur du Coudray, with some other French gentlemen, set out to join the army. Monsieur du Coudray was mounted on a spirited young mare, on which he rode into the flat boat used for ferrying across the Schuylkill, and being unable to stop her, she went over the boat into the river with her rider on her back. Monsieur du Coudray disengaged himself from the saddle, but was drowned, notwithstanding every effort being made to save him.

On the evening after the battle, general Howe sent a party to Wilmington, who seized in bed Mr. M'Kinlay, governor of the state of Delaware, and took a shallop lying in the rivulet loaded with the rich effects of some of the inhabitants, together with the public records of the county, and other valuable and important property.

General Wayne, with a detachment of 1500 men, had taken post in the woods on the left of the British army, with the intention of harassing it on its march. On the evening of the 20th of September, general Grey was despatched to surprise him, and successfully executed the enterprise; killing or wounding, chiefly with the bayonet, about 300 men, taking nearly 100 prisoners, and making himself master of all their baggage. General Grey had only one captain and three privates killed, and four wounded.

On the evening of the 18th, congress left Philadelphia for the second time, and proceeded first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown. On the afternoon of the 22d, and early on the 23d of September, sir William Howe, contrary to the expectation of the American

commander-in-chief, crossed the Schuylkill at Fatland and Gordon's Ford. The main body of his army encamped at Germantown, a long village, seven miles from Philadelphia; and, on the 26th, with a detachment of his troops he took peaceable possession of the city, where he was cordially received by the quakers and other royalists. During these movements, both armies were much incommoded by cold and heavy rains.

On receiving information of the success of the royal army under his brother at Brandywine, admiral lord Howe left the Chesapeake and steered for the Delaware, where he arrived on the 8th of October. As soon as general Howe had gained possession of Philadelphia, he began to clear the course of the river, in order to open a free communication with the fleet.

The Americans had laboured assiduously to obstruct the navigation of the Delaware; and, for that purpose, had sunk three rows of chevaux-de-frise, formed of large beams of timber bolted together, with strong projecting iron pikes, across the channel, a little below the place where the Schuylkill falls into the Delaware. The upper and lower rows were commanded by fortifications on the banks and islands of the river, and by floating batteries.

While the detachments employed in assisting to clear the course of the river weakened the royal army at Germantown, general Washington, who lay encamped at Skippach Creek on the north side of the Schuylkill, about seventeen miles from Germantown, meditated an attack upon it. Germantown consisted of one street about two miles long; the line of the British encampment bisected the village almost at right angles, and had its left covered by the Schuylkill. General Washington, having been reinforced by 1500 troops from Peekskill, and 1000 Virginian militia, marched from Skippach Creek on the evening of the 3d of October, and at dawn of day next morning attacked the royal army. After a smart conflict he drove in the advanced guard, which was stationed at the head of the village, and, with his

army divided into five columns, prosecuted the attack; but lieutenant-colonel Musgrave of the 40th regiment, which had been driven in, and who had been able to keep five companies of the regiment together, threw himself into a large stone house in the village, which stood in front of the main column of the Americans, and there almost a half of general Washington's army was detained for a considerable time. Instead of masking the house with a sufficient force, and advancing rapidly with their main body, the Americans attacked the house, which was obstinately defended. This saved the British army; for the critical moment was lost in fruitless attempts on the house; the royal troops had time to get under arms, and be in readiness to resist or attack as circumstances required. General Grey came to the assistance of colonel Musgrave; the engagement for some time was general and warm; at length the Americans began to give way, and effected a retreat with all their artillery. The morning was very foggy, a circumstance which had prevented the Americans from combining and conducting their operations as they otherwise might have done, but which now favoured their retreat by concealing their movements.

In this engagement the British had 600 men killed or wounded; among the slain were brigadier-general Agnew and colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. The Americans lost an equal number in killed and wounded, besides 400 who were taken prisoners. General Nash, of North Carolina, was among those who were killed. After the battle, general Washington returned to his encampment at Skippach Creek.

But although the British army had been successful in repulsing the Americans, yet their situation was not comfortable; nor could they easily maintain themselves in Pennsylvania unless the navigation of the Delaware were opened, and a free communication established between the fleet and army. The upper line of chevaux-de-frise was protected by a work named Fort Mifflin, erected on a marshy island in the Delaware called Mud

Island, formed by an accumulation of sand and vegetable mould near the Pennsylvanian bank of the river, and by a redoubt, called Redbank, on the Jersey side. At a small distance below Mud Island, and nearly in a line with it, are two others, named Province and Hog's Islands; between these and the Pennsylvanian bank of the river was a narrow channel, of sufficient depth to admit ships of moderate draught of water. The reduction of forts Mifflin and Redbank, and the opening of the Delaware, were of essential importance to the British army in the occupation of Philadelphia. In order, therefore, that he might be able more conveniently to assist in those operations, general Howe, on the 19th of October, withdrew his army from Germantown, and encamped in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

He despatched colonel count Donop, a German officer, with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirbach, and some light infantry, to reduce Redbank. This detachment crossed the Delaware at Philadelphia on the evening of the 21st of October, and next afternoon reached the place of its destination. Count Donop summoned the fort to surrender; but colonel Christopher Greene of Rhode Island, who commanded in the redoubt, answered that he would defend his post to the last extremity. Count Donop immediately led his troops to the assault, advancing under a close fire from the fort, and from the American vessels of war and floating batteries on the river; he forced an extensive and unfinished outwork, but could make no impression on the redoubt. The count was mortally wounded; the second in command also was disabled; and, after a desperate conflict and severe loss, the assailants were compelled to retreat under a fire similar to that which had met them in their advance. Colonel Donop was made prisoner, and soon died of his wounds.

The disaster did not terminate here. That part of the fleet which co-operated in the attack was equally unfortunate. The Augusta, Roebuck, Liverpool, Pearl, and Merlin, vessels of war, had passed through an open-

ing in the lower line of chevaux-de-frise; and, on the commencement of count Donop's attack, moved up the river with the flowing tide. But the artificial obstructions had altered the course of the channel, and raised sand-banks where none existed before. Hence the Augusta and Merlin grounded a little below the second row of chevaux-de-frise. At the return of the tide every exertion was made to get them off, but in vain. In the morning the Americans, perceiving their condition, began to fire upon them, and sent fireships against them. The Augusta caught fire; and, the flames spreading rapidly, it was with the utmost difficulty that the crew were got out of her. The second lieutenant, chaplain, gunner, and some seamen perished in the flames; but the greater part of the crew was saved. The Merlin was abandoned and destroyed.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the operations requisite for reducing the forts on the river were carried on with great activity. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvanian bank opposite Mud Island; but from the difficulty of constructing works on marshy ground, and of transporting heavy artillery through swamps, much time was consumed before they could be got ready to act with effect. The British also took possession of Province Island; and, although it was almost wholly overflowed, erected works upon it.

On the 15th of November, every thing was ready for a grand attack on Fort Mifflin. The Vigilant armed ship and a hulk, both mounted with heavy cannon, passed up the strait between Hog and Province islands and the Pennsylvanian bank, in order to take their station opposite the weakest part of the fort. The Isis, Somerset, Roebuck, and several frigates, sailed up the main channel, as far as the second line of chevaux-de-frise would permit them, and placed themselves in front of the work.

The little garrison of Fort Mifflin, not exceeding 300 men, had greatly exerted themselves in opposing and retarding the operations of the British fleet and army against them; and in this desperate crisis their courage

did not forsake them. A terrible cannonade againt Fort Mifflin was begun and carried on by the British batteries and shipping; and was answered by the fort, by the American galleys and floating batteries on the river, and by their works on the Jersey bank. In the course of the day, the fort was in a great measure demolished, and many of the guns dismounted. The garrison, finding their post no longer tenable, retired, by means of their shipping, during the night. Two days afterwards, the post at Redbank was evacuated also. Lord Cornwallis marched against it; but the garrison retreated before his arrival.

The American shipping in the river, being now left unprotected, retired up the stream: part of it, by keeping close to the Jersey side, passed the batteries at Philadelphia during the night, and escaped; the rest was set on fire, and abandoned. Even the part of it, however, which escaped at this time, was afterwards destroyed. Thus the navigation of the Delaware was opened, and a free communication established between the fleet and army; but the defence of the river was so obstinate, that a considerable part of the campaign was wasted in clearing it.

General Washington having received a reinforcement from the northern army, after the termination of the campaign in that quarter, left his strong camp at Skippach Creek, and, advancing nearer the British, occupied an advantageous position at White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. He had a valley and rivulet in front, and his right was protected by an abattis, or fence of trees cut down, with their top branches pointed and turned outwards.

Sir William Howe thinking that general Washington, encouraged by his reinforcements, would hazard a battle for the recovery of the capital of Pennsylvania, or that a successful attack might be made on his position, marched from Philadelphia on the evening of the 4th of December, and next morning took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of the right wing of the American army. During the two succeeding days, general Howe made several movements

in front of the hostile encampment, and some skirmishing ensued. But general Washington remained within his lines; and sir William Howe, deeming it unadvisable to attack him there, and seeing no probability of being able to provoke him to engage on more equal terms, returned with his army, on the 8th of December, to Philadelphia. At that time the two armies were nearly equal in point of numerical force, each consisting of upwards of 14,000 men. Soon afterwards general Washington quitted White Marsh, crossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Valley Forge, where he spent the winter, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia.

During the active part of the campaign the British army was most numerous; and although, in the beginning of December, the numerical force of the two armies was nearly equal, yet there was a great difference in the quality and equipment of the troops. Those under sir William Howe were veterans, accustomed to the most exact discipline and subordination, well armed, and abundantly supplied with military stores and other necessaries: but those under general Washington were for the most part raw levies and disorderly militia, ill-disciplined, imperfectly armed, and strangers to military subordination; hence the Americans were unable to meet the royal troops on equal terms. General Washington was obliged to occupy strong positions, and to be wary in all his movements: he was beaten at the Brandywine, and repulsed at Germantown; but although sir William Howe was successful in all his operations, yet he gained nothing by the campaign but good winter quarters in Philadelphia.

While the events now related were happening in the middle states, most important transactions were going on in the north, to which we shall now turn our attention.

In a former chapter we left the retreating American army, after its unsuccessful irruption into Canada, at Ticonderago, in the month of November, 1776. That army was composed chiefly of soldiers enlisted for a short period only, and consequently it

melted away during the winter, as the term of service for which the men were engaged expired.

The cantonments of the British northern army, extending from Isle aux Noix and Montreal to Quebec, were so distant from each other that they could not readily have afforded mutual support in case of an attack; but the Americans were in no condition to avail themselves of this circumstance. They could scarcely keep up even the appearance of garrisons in their forts, and were apprehensive of an attack on Ticonderago, as soon as the ice was strong enough to afford an easy passage to troops over the lakes.

At the close of the preceding campaign general Gates had joined the army under general Washington; and the command of the army in the northern department, comprehending Albany, Ticonderago, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, remained in the hands of general Schuyler. The services of that meritorious officer were more solid than brilliant, and had not been duly valued by congress, which, like other popular assemblies, was slow in discerning real and unostentatious merit. Disgusted at the injustice which he had experienced, he was restrained from leaving the army merely by the deep interest which he took in the arduous struggle in which his country was engaged; but after a full investigation of his conduct during the whole of his command, congress was at length convinced of the value of his services, and requested him to continue at the head of the army of the northern department. That army he found too weak for the services which it was expected to perform, and ill supplied with arms, clothes, and provisions. He made every exertion to organise and place it on a respectable footing for the ensuing campaign; but his means were scanty, and the new levies arrived slowly. General St. Clair, who had served under Gates, commanded at Ticonderago, and, including militia, had nearly 3000 men under him; but the works were extensive, and would have required 10,000 men to man them fully.

The British ministry had resolved to prosecute the

war vigorously on the northern frontier of the United States, and appointed general Burgoyne, who had served under general Carleton in the preceding campaign, to command the royal army in that quarter. The appointment gave offence to general Carleton, governor of Canada, who naturally expected to be continued in the command of the northern army, and that respectable officer testified his dissatisfaction by tendering the resignation of his government. But although displeased with the nomination, he gave general Burgoyne every assistance in his power in preparing for the campaign.

General Burgoyne had visited England during the winter, concerted with ministry a plan of the campaign, and given an estimate of the force necessary for its successful execution. Besides a fine train of artillery and a suitable body of artillerymen, an army, consisting of more than 7000 veteran troops, excellently equipped, and in a high state of discipline, was put under his command. Besides this regular force, he had a great number of Canadians and savages.

The employment of the savages was not quite agreeable to the sentiments either of general Carleton or Burgoyne; but their alliance had been courted and their services accepted in former wars, and on the present occasion the British ministry placed no small dependence on the aid of those rude confederates. They directed general Carleton to use all his influence to bring a large body of them into the field, and his exertions were very successful. General Burgoyne was assisted by a number of distinguished officers, among whom were generals Philips, Frazer, Powel, Hamilton, Reidesel, and Specht. A suitable naval armament, under the orders of commodore Lutwych, attended the expedition.

After detaching colonel St. Leger with a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to about 800 men, by the way of lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, to make a diversion in that quarter, and to join him when he advanced to the Hudson, general Burgoyne left St. John's on the 16th of June, and, preceded by his naval arma-

ment, sailed up lake Champlain, and in a few days landed and encamped at Crown Point, earlier in the season than the Americans had thought it possible for him to reach that place.

He met his Indian allies, and, in imitation of a savage partisan, gave them a war-feast, at which, with well meant but useless zeal, he made them a speech, in order to inflame their courage and repress their barbarous cruelty. He next issued a lofty proclamation, addressed to the inhabitants of the country, in which, as if certain of victory, he threatened to punish with the utmost severity those who refused to attach themselves to the royal cause. He talked of the ferocity of the Indians, and their eagerness to butcher the friends of independence, and he graciously promised protection to those who should return to their duty. The proclamation was so far from answering the general's intention that it was derided by the people as a model of pomposity.

Having made the necessary arrangements, on the 30th of June general Burgoyne advanced cautiously on both sides of the narrow channel which connects lakes Champlain and George, the British on the west, and the German auxiliaries on the east, with the naval force in the centre, forming a communication between the two divisions of the army ; and on the 1st of July his van appeared in sight of Ticonderago.

The river Sorel issues from the north end of lake Champlain, and throws its superfluous waters into the St. Lawrence. Lake Champlain is about eighty miles long from north to south, and about fourteen miles broad where it is widest. Crown Point stands at what may properly be considered the south end of the lake, although a narrow channel, which retains the name of the lake, proceeds southward, and forms a communication with South River and the waters of lake George.

Ticonderago is on the west side of the narrow channel, twelve miles south from Crown Point. It is a rocky angle of land, washed on three sides by the water, and partly covered on the fourth side by a deep morass. On

the space on the north-west quarter, between the morass and the channel, the French had formerly constructed lines of fortification, which still remained, and those lines the Americans had strengthened by additional works.

Opposite Ticonderago, on the east side of the channel, which is here between 300 and 400 yards wide, stands a high circular hill, called Mount Independence, which had been occupied by the Americans when they abandoned Crown Point, and carefully fortified. On the top of it, which is flat, they had erected a fort, and provided it sufficiently with artillery. Near the foot of the mountain, which extends to the water's edge, they had raised entrenchments, and mounted them with heavy guns, and had covered those lower works by a battery about half way up the hill.

With prodigious labour they had constructed a communication between those two posts, by means of a wooden bridge which was supported by twenty-two strong wooden pillars, placed at nearly equal distances from each other. The spaces between the pillars were filled up by separate floats, strongly fastened to each other and to the pillars, by chains and rivets. The bridge was twelve feet wide, and the side of it next lake Champlain was defended by a boom formed of large pieces of timber, bolted and bound together by double iron chains an inch and a half thick. Thus an easy communication was established between Tinconderago and Mount Independence, and the passage of vessels up the strait prevented.

Immediately after passing Ticonderago, the channel becomes wider, and, on the south-east side, receives a large body of water from a stream, at that point called South River but higher up, named Wood Creek. From the south-west come the waters flowing from lake George; and in the angle formed by the confluence of those two streams rises a steep and rugged eminence called Sugar Hill, which overlooks and commands both Ticonderago and Mount Independence. That hill had been examined by the Americans; but

general St. Clair considering the force under his command insufficient to occupy the extensive works of Ticonderago and Mount Independence, and flattering himself that the extreme difficulty of the ascent would prevent the British from availing themselves of it, neglected to take possession of Sugar Hill. It may be remarked that the north end of Lake George is between two and three miles above Ticonderago; but the channel leading to it is interrupted by rapids and shallows, and is unfit for navigation. Lake George is narrow, but is thirty-five miles long, extending from north-east to south-west. At the head of it stood a fort of the same name, strong enough to resist an attack of Indians, but incapable of making any effectual opposition to regular troops. Nine miles beyond it was Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

On the appearance of general Burgoyne's van, general St. Clair had no accurate knowledge of the strength of the British army, having heard nothing of the reinforcement from Europe. He imagined that they would attempt to take the fort by assault, and flattered himself that he would easily be able to repulse them. But, on the 2d of July, the British appeared in great force on both sides of the channel, and encamped four miles from the forts; while the fleet anchored just beyond the reach of the guns. After a slight resistance, general Burgoyne took possession of Mount Hope, an important post on the south of Ticonderago, which commanded part of the lines of that fort, as well as the channel leading to Lake George; and extended his lines so as completely to invest the fort on the west side. The German division under general Reidesel occupied the eastern bank of the channel, and sent forward a detachment to the vicinity of the rivulet which flows from Mount Independence. General Burgoyne now laboured assiduously in bringing forward his artillery and completing his communications. On the 5th of the month, he caused Sugar Hill to be examined; and, being informed that the ascent, though difficult, was not impracticable, he immediately resolved to take possession of it, and proceeded with such activity

in raising works and mounting guns upon it, that his battery might have been opened on the garrison next day.

These operations received no check from the besieged; because, as it has been alleged, they were not in a condition to give any. General St. Clair was now nearly surrounded. Only the space between the stream which flows from Mount Independence and South River remained open; and that was to be occupied next day.

In these circumstances it was requisite for the garrison to come to a prompt and decisive resolution; either, at every hazard, to defend the place to the last extremity, or immediately to abandon it. St. Clair called a council of war, the members of which unanimously advised the immediate evacuation of the forts; and preparations were instantly made for carrying this resolution into execution. The British had the command of the communication with lake George; and consequently the garrison could not escape in that direction. The retreat could be effected by the South River only. Accordingly, the invalids, the hospital, and such stores as could be most easily removed, were put on board 200 boats, and, escorted by colonel Long's regiment, proceeded, on the night between the 5th and 6th of July, up the South River towards Skenesborough. The garrisons of Ticonderago and Mount Independence marched by land through Castletown, towards the same place. The troops were ordered to march out in profound silence, and particularly to set nothing on fire. But these prudent orders were disobeyed; and, before the rear-guard was in motion, the house on Mount Independence, which general Fermoy had occupied, was seen in flames. That served as a signal to the enemy, who immediately entered the works, and fired, but without effect, on the rear of the retreating army.

General Burgoyne instantly resolved on a rapid pursuit. Commodore Lutwych began to cut the boom, and break down the bridge between Ticonderago and Mount Independence; and so great was his activity that, al-

though the Americans had laboured ten months on the work, he opened a passage for his fleet by nine in the morning.

A number of gun-boats, under captain Carter, were detached in pursuit of that part of the American force which had retreated up South River; and they proceeded with such rapidity, that, at three in the afternoon, they overtook the retreating enemy, brought them to action near the falls of Skenesborough, took two of their five galleys, and compelled them to burn the other three and their boats. At Skenesborough the Americans did not long remain; for understanding that general Burgoyne, who with part of his army had sailed up the South River in boats, had landed at South Bay, below Skenesborough, they set fire to the works, and, without any considerable loss of men, retreated to Fort Ann, higher up Wood Creek. But they lost all their baggage, and a great quantity of provisions and military stores, which were either destroyed by themselves or taken by the British.

The operations against the main body of the garrison, which retreated by land, were not less active. General Frazer, at the head of a body of grenadiers and light infantry, pursued them; and was supported by general Reidesel. General St. Clair, convinced that his safety lay in the rapidity of his movements, marched with great diligence, and in the evening of the day on which he abandoned the forts reached Castletown, thirty miles from Ticonderago; but his rear-guard, consisting of 1200 men, under colonel Warner, on account of fatigue, halted at Hubbardtown, six miles behind the rest of the army.

On the evening of the 6th of July, general Frazer arrived near Hubbardtown; and being informed that the rear of the enemy was at no great distance, he ordered his men to lie on their arms during the night. On the morning of the 7th, he renewed the pursuit, and soon overtook the American rear-guard, under colonel Warner, who, besides his own regiment, had with him

those of colonels Francis and Hale. But Hale fled without fighting; and afterwards falling in with a small party of British troops, he surrendered himself and such of his men as adhered to him prisoners. By this defection Warner could bring only about 700 men into action. Frazer began the attack about seven in the morning; and the conflict was severe and sanguinary. Colonel Francis fell, fighting bravely at the head of his regiment; but the battle was obstinately maintained, till the arrival of general Reidesel with a reinforcement, when the Americans fled with precipitation.

St. Clair, who was at Castletown, six miles distant, heard the firing when it began, and ordered two regiments of militia, which were nearest the scene of action, to support colonel Warner; but, instead of obeying the order, those regiments sought safety in flight, and left Warner to his fate. In this encounter the Americans lost 324 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; the royal troops had 183 men killed or wounded.

While St. Clair lay at Castletown, an officer from one of the American galleys informed him that the British were hastening forward to Skenesborough, and would reach that place before him. He therefore entered the woods on his left, and pursued his way to Fort Edward, where, after a fatiguing march, in which his troops suffered much from bad weather and want of provisions, he joined general Schuyler on the 12th of July. Two days after leaving Castletown, he was obliged to dismiss, with disgrace, two regiments of New England militia, on account of their disorderly and plundering conduct.

Colonel Hill with the 9th regiment was ordered to pursue the American detachment under colonel Long, which had retreated up Wood Creek from Skenesborough to Fort Ann: two other regiments were afterwards directed to support him. Colonel Long attacked colonel Hill, and a severe skirmish ensued; but, being informed of the approach of the reinforcement to colonel Hill, the Americans set fire to the works at Fort Ann, and retreated to Fort Edward.

Thus, in the course of a few days after the commencement of active operations, general Burgoyne made himself master of Ticonderago and Mount Independence, drove the republicans from the lakes Champlain and George, and compelled them to seek shelter behind the Hudson. In Britain the most sanguine expectations were entertained of the success of the Canadian army: and hitherto those expectations had been more than realised; for general Burgoyne had gained the strong forts, destroyed the American vessels near Skenesborough, driven the enemy from the vicinity of the lakes, taken 128 pieces of artillery, and captured or destroyed a considerable quantity of provisions and other stores.

The evacuation of Ticonderago and Mount Independence was an event entirely unexpected by the Americans, and spread surprise and alarm throughout the provinces, particularly those of New England, which were exposed to the most immediate danger. St. Clair, who discovered no military talents or enterprise, was generally blamed; but on enquiry was acquitted, although the Americans were not too indulgent to their unsuccessful officers. His garrison was much weaker than had been commonly supposed; and the circumstances of the retreat show that a considerable number of his troops were of the worst quality; but amidst the agitation and alarm occasioned by the abandonment of posts on the lakes, none of the people manifested a disposition to submit to British authority.

General Schuyler was on his way to Ticonderago; but at Stillwater he was informed of the evacuation of the fort; and at Saratoga, on the same day, he learned the total loss of the stores at Skenesborough. Amidst this disastrous intelligence, he heard nothing from St. Clair, and was apprehensive of the total loss of the garrison. He fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward on the Hudson, a ruinous fortification, fifty-seven miles above Albany, which merely served to give a name to the place. His force, even when joined by St. Clair, did

not exceed 4400 men, about the half of which was militia, and the whole was ill-clothed, ill-armed, and dispirited by the recent disasters.

With that force general Schuyler could not face the British army; and to gain time was to him a matter of the utmost importance. For this purpose, he ordered detachments of his men to obstruct the navigation of Wood Creek above Fort Ann; to break down bridges; to cut trees so as to fall across the road from opposite sides, and intermingle their branches, particularly at places where the line of road could not be altered; and to throw every obstacle in the way, in order to retard general Burgoyne's progress. He ordered all the horses and cattle out of the way of the royal army; and brought off from Fort George all the ammunition and stores, of which he stood much in need.

While general Schuyler made every effort to retard the progress of his opponent, he exerted himself vigorously to strengthen his own army. He solicited reinforcements of regular troops; he called on the militia of New England to join the army; and used all his personal influence in the surrounding country to inspire the people with military ardour and patriotic enthusiasm. As the danger was alarming, his unwearied exertions were actively seconded by general Washington and the civil authorities. General Schuyler had never been popular among the militia of New England, and they were unwilling to serve under him; therefore general Lincoln, who in a high degree possessed their confidence, was appointed to raise and command them. Arnold, who had a high reputation for gallantry in the field, was directed to join the northern army; and colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, was ordered to the same quarter. Colonel Warner with his regiment was sent towards the left of the British army, to threaten its flank and rear, and to assist in raising the militia. Tents, artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries, were diligently provided.

While general Schuyler made every exertion to

strengthen and equip his army, general Burgoyne, who was equally active and indefatigable, was obliged to halt at Skenesborough, in order to give some rest to his exhausted troops, many of whom had been two days without provisions, and all of them without tents; to re-assemble and re-organise his army, which had been thrown into some disorder, and considerably scattered, by his rapid movements; to bring forward his artillery, baggage, and military stores; and to make all the necessary preparations for advancing towards Albany.

During his halt at Skenesborough, general Burgoyne issued a second proclamation, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send deputies to meet colonel Skene at Castletown, in order to deliberate on the measures which might still be adopted to save from destruction those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation. General Schuyler issued a counter-proclamation, warning the people to be on their guard against the insidious designs of the enemy, and assuring them that they would be considered traitors, and punished accordingly, if they complied with his propositions.

But this war of proclamations was soon followed by more active measures; for, after the necessary rest to his army in the vicinity of Skenesborough, general Burgoyne, much elated with his past success, and cherishing sanguine anticipations of future victory, began to advance towards the Hudson. On proceeding up Wood Creek, he was obliged to remove the impediments with which general Schuyler had encumbered the channel, and afterwards to restore the roads and bridges which he had destroyed. The labour was great: above forty bridges were constructed and others repaired, one of which, entirely of logwork, was over a morass two miles wide. This prodigious labour, in a sultry season of the year, and in a close country swarming with tormenting insects, the army performed with cheerfulness and untired perseverance. At length, with little opposition from the enemy, on the 30th of July it reached Fort Edward, which general Schuyler had quitted a short

time before, and retreated to Saratoga. General Burgoyne might have much more easily reached Fort Edward by the way of Lake George; but he had been led up the South River in pursuit of the fleeing enemy; and he persevered in that difficult route, lest he should discourage his troops by a retrograde movement.

At Fort Edward general Burgoyne again found it necessary to pause in his career; for his carriages, which in the hurry had been made of unseasoned wood, were much broken down, and needed to be repaired. From the unavoidable difficulties of the case, not more than one third of the draught horses contracted for in Canada had arrived; and general Schuyler had been careful to remove almost all the horses and draught cattle of the country out of his way. Boats for the navigation of the Hudson, provisions, stores, artillery, and other necessaries for the army, were all to be brought from Fort George; and although that place was only nine or ten miles from Fort Edward, yet such was the condition of the roads, rendered nearly impassable by the great quantity of rain that had fallen, that the labour of transporting necessaries was incredible. General Burgoyne had collected about 100 oxen; but it was often necessary to employ ten or twelve of them in transporting a single boat. With his utmost exertions he had only conveyed twelve boats into the Hudson, and provisions for the army for four days in advance, on the 15th of August.

In order to aid and facilitate the operations of St. Leger on the Mohawk, general Burgoyne wished to make a rapid movement down the Hudson; but it was not easy to procure provisions for his army. The difficulty of drawing his supplies from lake George was every day to increase with the distance: and his left flank and rear were threatened by general Lincoln, who had been ordered by general Schuyler to join colonel Warner, to collect the militia of New England, to endeavour to cut off the communication of the British army with lake George, or even to make an attempt on Ticonderago.

In these circumstances, general Burgoyne conceived the plan of procuring a supply for his army from a different quarter. It was well known that the American army received live cattle from New England, which were collected at Bennington, twenty-four miles east from the Hudson, where a large deposit of carriages, corn, flour, and other necessaries, had been made. For this purpose he moved down the east side of the Hudson, and encamped nearly opposite Saratoga, which place the American army left on the 15th of August, and retreated to the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers. He sent his van across the river by a bridge of boats; and at the same time despatched colonel Baume, a German officer, with 500 men, partly cavalry, two pieces of artillery, and 100 Indians, to surprise Bennington.

General Stark, with the New Hampshire militia, 400 strong, happened to be in that vicinity, on his way to join general Schuyler. He heard first of the approach of the Indians, and soon afterwards was informed that they were supported by a regular force. He collected his brigade, sent expresses to the neighbouring militia to join him, and also to colonel Warner's regiment at Manchester. On the morning of the 14th of August, he marched against the enemy, at the head of 700 men; and sent colonel Gregg, with 200 men, to skirmish in their front and retard their progress. He drew up his men in order of battle: but, on coming in sight of him, Baume halted on advantageous ground; sent an express to general Burgoyne informing him of his situation; and fortified himself as well as circumstances would permit.

Some small skirmishing parties of the Americans killed several Germans, and two Indian chiefs, without sustaining any loss; and this slight success not a little elated them. In a council of war, it was resolved to attack Baume next day; but next day it rained incessantly, and the attack could not be made, although there was the skirmishing.

One morning of the 16th, Stark, having received

some reinforcements, sent detachments by the right and left of the enemy, with orders to unite in their rear, and begin the attack in that quarter. But before they met the Indians retreated between the columns, and receiving a fire as they passed sustained some loss. The detachments, according to orders, began the attack on the rear of the enemy, and were assisted by Stark, who instantly advanced to the charge in front. Baume made a brave defence; the battle lasted two hours, during which he was furiously assailed on every side by an incessant discharge of musketry. He was mortally wounded; his troops were overpowered; a few of them escaped into the woods and fled, pursued by the Americans; the rest were killed or taken prisoners. Thus, without artillery, with old rusty firelocks, and with scarcely a bayonet, these militia entirely defeated 500 veterans, well armed, provided with two pieces of artillery, and defended by breastworks.

After the victory the greater part of the militia dispersed in quest of booty, and their avidity for spoil nearly proved fatal to them; for, on receiving Baume's express, general Burgoyne ordered colonel Brehman, who had before been sent forward to Batten Hill for the purpose, to march to the assistance of his countrymer with the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chas seurs, amounting to 500 men. Colonel Brehman set out eight in the morning of the 15th; but the roads we rendered almost impassable by incessant rains; a although he marched with the utmost diligence, yeit was four the next afternoon before he reached ne vicinity of the place where his countrymen had en defeated. The first notice which he received of Bane's disaster was from the fugitives whom he met. He sily repulsed the few militia who were in pursuit of em; and, from the scattered state of Stark's troops, l the prospect of being able to make himself master f the stores, which were the great object of the ex dition. But, at that critical moment colonel Warner's giment of continentals arrived, and instantly engaged ehman.

The firing re-assembled the scattered militia, who joined in the battle as they came up. Colonel Brehman maintained the conflict till dark; when, abandoning his artillery and baggage, he retreated, and, escaping under cover of night, with the shattered remnant of his detachment, regained the camp.

In those engagements the Americans took four brass field-pieces, about 1000 muskets (a most seasonable supply to the ill-armed militia), 900 swords, and four baggage waggons. Exclusive of Canadians and other loyalists, the loss of the royal army could not be less than 700 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, although general Burgoyne stated it at only about 400. The Americans admitted the loss of about 100 in killed and wounded; but this was certainly under the truth.

This was the first check which general Burgoyne's army had met with, and it was a severe one, and had a fatal influence on the campaign. The loss of a few hundred men was nothing compared with the effects which it produced upon the minds of the people: it greatly elated them, and gave the militia, who had been much dispirited by the late defeats, confidence in themselves, and encouraged them to hasten to the army in great numbers, in order to consummate the work which they had begun. Before the events in the vicinity of Bennington, dejection and alarm pervaded the northern provinces; but those events dispelled the gloom, infused spirit and vigour into the militia, and gave a new aspect to affairs on the Hudson.

The failure of the attempt on Bennington had arisen from a concurrence of circumstances which could not be foreseen. The presence of Stark was purely accidental; and the seasonable arrival of Warner saved both the stores and the disorderly militia from the hands of Brehman. But the defeat at Bennington was not the only misfortune which general Burgoyne met with: before reaching Crown Point he had despatched colonel St. Leger, as already mentioned, with a detachment of regular troops, Canadians, loyalists, and Indians, by the

way of Oswego, to make a diversion on the upper part of the Mohawk river, and afterwards join him on his way to Albany.

On the 2d of August, St. Leger approached Fort Stanwix or Schuyler, a log fortification, situated on rising ground near the source of the Mohawk river, and garrisoned by about 600 continentals under the command of colonel Gausevoort. Next day he invested the place with an army of sixteen or seventeen hundred men, nearly one half of whom were Indians, and the rest British, Germans, Canadians, and loyal Americans. On being summoned to surrender, Gausevoort answered that he would defend the place to the last.

On the approach of St. Leger to Fort Schuyler, general Herkemer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, assembled about 700 of them and marched to the assistance of the garrison. On the forenoon of the 6th of August, a messenger from Herkemer found means to enter the fort, and gave notice that he was only eight miles distant, and intended that day to force a passage into the fort and join the garrison. Gausevoort resolved to aid the attempt by a vigorous sally, and appointed colonel Willet with upwards of 200 men to that service.

St. Leger received information of the approach of Herkemer, and placed a large body of regulars and Indians in ambush on the road by which he was to advance. Herkemer fell into the snare. The first notice which he received of the presence of an enemy was from a heavy discharge of musketry on his troops, which was instantly followed by the war-whoop of the Indians, who attacked the militia with their tomahawks. Though disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack, many of the militia behaved with spirit, and a scene of unutterable confusion and carnage ensued. The royal troops and the militia became so closely crowded together that they had not room to use fire-arms, but pushed and pulled each other, and, using their daggers, fell pierced by mutual wounds. Some of the militia fled at the first

onset, others made their escape afterwards; about 100 of them retreated to a rising ground, where they bravely defended themselves, till sir John Johnstone, who commanded the ambuscade, found it necessary to call off his men for the defence of their own camp. In the absence of the party against Herkemer, colonel Willet made a successful sally, killed a number of the enemy, destroyed their provisions, carried off some spoil, and returned to the fort without the loss of a man.

The loss of Herkemer's party was computed to amount to 400 men: the general himself was among the slain. Many of the most active political characters in that part of the country were killed, wounded, or made prisoners; so that St. Leger was secured from any further trouble from the militia. St. Leger again summoned the fort to surrender, but again met with a steady refusal.

General Schuyler, deeming it a matter of importance to prevent the junction of St. Leger with general Burgoyne, despatched Arnold with a considerable body of regular troops to relieve Fort Schuyler. Arnold apprehended an American of some wealth and influence, who, he believed, had been acting the part of a traitor, but promised to spare his life and fortune on condition of his going into the British camp before Fort Schuyler, and alarming the Indians and others by magnifying the force which was marching against them. This the person undertook and executed. Some Indians, who were friendly to the Americans, communicated similar information, and even spread a report of the total defeat of general Burgoyne's army, founded, probably, on the disaster of the party sent against Bennington.

Fort Schuyler was better constructed, and defended with more courage than St. Leger had expected; and his light artillery made little impression on it. His Indians, who liked better to take scalps and plunder than to besiege fortresses, became very unmanageable. The loss which they had sustained in the encounters with Herkemer and Willet deeply affected them: they had expected to be witnesses of the triumphs of the

British, and to share with them the plunder. Hard service and little reward caused bitter disappointment; and when they heard that a strong detachment of continentals was marching against them, they resolved to seek safety in flight. St. Leger employed every argument and artifice to detain them, but in vain; part of them went off, and all the rest threatened to follow if the siege were persevered in. Therefore, on the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated with circumstances indicating great alarm: the tents were left standing, the artillery was abandoned, and a great part of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which pursued the retreating enemy. St. Leger retired to Montreal, whence he proceeded to Ticonderago, with the intention of joining general Burgoyne.

General Arnold reached Fort Schuyler two days after the retreat of the besiegers; but, finding no occasion for his services, he soon returned to camp. The successful defence of Fort Stanwix or Schuyler powerfully co-operated with the defeat of the royal troops at Bennington in raising the spirits and invigorating the activity of the Americans. The loyalists became timid; the wavering began to doubt the success of the royal arms; and the great body of the people was convinced that nothing but steady exertion on their part was necessary, to ruin that army which a short time before had appeared irresistible.

General Schuyler, who, notwithstanding all his meritorious services, was no favourite with congress, at this critical period of the campaign, when by unwearied exertion he had brought the northern army into a respectable condition, and had the fair prospect of gaining the laurels due to his industry and talents, was superseded, and general Gates appointed to the command of the army. General Schuyler keenly felt the indignity offered him, by depriving him of the command at that critical juncture; but he faithfully discharged his duty, till the arrival in camp of his successor, on the 19th of August.

The late events had greatly changed the aspect of affairs; and general Gates found the army in a far more promising state than he had expected. The harvest was over; and many of the militia, who had been kept at home by it, were arriving in camp, where there was now a respectable force, much encouraged by the recent success of the American arms.

Soon after general Gates entered on the command of the northern army, an epistolary correspondence was opened between him and general Burgoyne, not of the most pleasant or courteous kind. On the 30th of August, the British general complained of the harsh treatment experienced by the loyalists who had been made prisoners at Bennington, and hinted at retaliation. On the 2d of September the American general answered his letter, and recriminated by expatiating on the horrid atrocities perpetrated by the Indians who accompanied the armies of general Burgoyne and colonel St. Leger, and imputed them to general Burgoyne. One barbarous act committed by an Indian attached to general Burgoyne's army, although it involved only a case of individual suffering, yet, being described in the American newspapers with every circumstance that could excite the imagination and inflame the feelings, made a deep impression on the public mind, and roused indignation to the highest pitch.

Mr. Jones, an officer of the British army, had gained the affections of Miss Macrea, a lovely young lady of amiable character and spotless reputation, daughter of a gentleman attached to the royal cause, residing near Fort Edward; and they had agreed to be married. In the course of service, the officer was removed to some distance from his bride; and became anxious for her safety and desirous of her company. He engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to bring her to camp, and promised a keg of rum to the person who should deliver her safe to him. She dressed to meet her bridegroom, and accompanied her Indian conductors; but by the way, the two chiefs, each being desirous of receiving the

promised reward, disputed which of them should deliver her to her lover. The dispute rose to a quarrel; and, according to their usual method of disposing of a disputed prisoner, one of them instantly cleft the head of the lady with his tomahawk. This simple story, sufficiently tragical and affecting in itself, was blazoned in the American newspapers with every amplification that could excite the imagination or touch the heart; and contributed in no slight degree to embitter the minds of the people against those who could degrade themselves by the aid of such allies. The impulse given to the public mind by such atrocities more than counterbalanced any advantages which the British derived from the assistance of the Indians.

For the cruelties exercised by the savages, general Burgoyne was in no degree to blame. He was ordered to employ them: but he did every thing in his power to restrain their ferocity; and by his efforts in the cause of humanity he forfeited their good-will, and at last lost their services at the most critical period of the campaign.

Although general Burgoyne, defeated in his attempt against Bennington, and disappointed in the expectation of assistance from St. Leger, was left to his own resources, yet he did not abandon the arduous enterprise in which he was engaged, but still flattered himself with the hope of being able to accomplish the great object of the campaign. In order, however, to procure subsistence for his army, he was obliged to revert to the tedious and toilsome mode of bringing supplies from Fort George; and he prosecuted this work with his usual ardour and persevering industry. Having by unwearied exertions collected provisions for thirty days, and constructed a bridge of boats over the Hudson, in place of the rafts which had been carried away by a flood, he crossed the river on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward and thirty-seven above Albany.

General Gates, who was now joined by all the con-

tinental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced by considerable bodies of militia, left the strong position which Schuyler had taken at the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson eight miles above Albany, proceeded sixteen miles up the river towards the enemy, and formed a strong camp near Stillwater. The two armies were only about twelve miles distant from each other; but the bridges between them were broken down, the roads were bad, and the country was covered with woods; consequently the progress of the British army, encumbered by its fine train of artillery and numerous waggons, was slow, and it was attended with some skirmishing.

On the evening of the 17th, general Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, and spent the next day in repairing the bridges between the two camps, which he accomplished with some loss. About mid-day, on the 19th of September, he put himself at the head of the right wing of his army, and advanced through the woods towards the left of the American camp: general Frazer and colonel Brehman, with the grenadiers and light infantry, covered his right flank; and the Indians, loyalists, and Canadians proceeded in front. The left wing and artillery, commanded by generals Philips and Reidesel, proceeded along the great road near the river.

The nature of the ground prevented the contending armies from observing the movements of each other; but general Gates, whose scouts were in constant activity, was soon informed of the advance of the British army. He detached colonel Morgan, a bold and active partisan, with his riflemen, to observe the motions and impede the progress of the enemy. Morgan soon met the advanced parties in front of the British right wing, and drove them back. General Burgoyne supported them by a strong detachment; and, after a severe conflict, Morgan, in his turn, was compelled to give way. But general Gates reinforced him, and the engagement became more general. The Americans attempted to turn

the right flank of the British army, with the view of attacking it in the rear; but, being opposed by Frazer and Brehman, they made a rapid movement, and commenced a furious attack on the left of the British right wing. The combatants were reinforced; and between three and four in the afternoon, general Arnold, with nine continental regiments and Morgan's riflemen, was closely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. Both parties fought with the most determined courage; and the battle ended only with the day. When it became dark, the Americans withdrew to their camp; and the royal troops lay all night on their arms on the field of battle. On hearing the firing at the beginning of the engagement, general Philips with some artillery forced his way through the woods, and rendered essential service. During the battle, general Burgoyne behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and exposed himself to every danger. In the evening, it was believed in the American camp that he was among the wounded; for numbers of Americans climbed trees in the rear of their countrymen, and, whenever the smoke cleared away for a moment, took aim at the British officers. One of these marksmen seeing an aide-de-camp delivering a message to general Burgoyne, being deceived by the rich furniture of his horse, fired at the aide-de-camp and wounded him, mistaking him for the general.

In this battle, in which each party had nearly 3000 men actually engaged, the British lost upwards of 500 in killed and wounded, and the Americans about 400 men. Night separated the combatants: each side claimed the victory, and each believed that with a part only of its own force it had beaten the whole of the hostile army. But although neither army was defeated, it was evident who had gained the advantage; general Burgoyne had failed in the attempt to dislodge the enemy, and his progress was arrested. His communication with the lakes was cut off, and his resources were daily failing; while the enemy had the same opportunities of gaining supplies as before, and their strength was still increasing

by the arrival of fresh troops. In such circumstances, to fight without a decisive victory was to the British nearly equivalent to a defeat; and to fight without being beaten was to the Americans productive of many of the consequences of victory.

Accordingly, the news of the battle were received with joy and exultation throughout the United States, and the ruin of the invading army was confidently anticipated. The militia were encouraged to take the field, and assist in consummating the work so auspiciously begun. At that time the army under the command of general Gates did not much exceed 7000 men; but it was soon considerably increased.

On the day after the engagement, information was received in the American camp, which still farther raised the spirits and confirmed the confidence of the troops. General Lincoln, who had been sent to collect the militia of New England, had assembled a considerable body of them at Manchester, whence he marched to Pawlet, a small village on a rivulet of the same name, which falls into Wood Creek. From that place, he detached three parties, consisting of about 500 men each; one, under colonel Brown, proceeded to the north end of lake George, chiefly with the intention of relieving a number of prisoners confined there, but with orders to carry his offensive operations as far as prudence would permit; one, under colonel Johnson, marched against Mount Independence; and a third, under colonel Woodberry, was sent to Skenesborough, to cover, if needful, the retreat of the two others. With the remainder of his troops Lincoln set out to join general Gates, and reached the camp, with about 2000 men, before the end of September. Colonel Brown proceeded with such secrecy and address, that, at dawn of day on the 18th of September, he arrived at the north end of lake George, completely surprised the outposts between the landing-place and Ticonderago. Almost in an instant, and with scarcely any loss, he made himself master of Sugar Hill or Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, an armed sloop, several

gun-boats, and 200 boats which had been employed in transporting provisions for the army. He relieved 100 American prisoners, and took nearly 300 of the enemy. He made an attempt on Ticonderago, but failed. Johnson also was unsuccessful against Mount Independence. The party afterwards sailed up lake George in the boats which they had taken, attacked Diamond Island, which general Burgoyne had fortified and made the deposit of all the stores collected at the south end of the lake, but were repulsed. They then burned the vessels which they had taken, and returned to their former station. The success of this party in the early part of their expedition was soon proclaimed throughout New England, where it was rumoured that the forts were taken; and the militia were invited to join their countrymen in arms and ensure the ruin of the invaders.

Immediately after the battle at Stillwater, general Burgoyne took a position almost within cannon-shot of the American camp, fortified his right, extended his left along the hills, and encamped two European regiments and a corps of provincials on the low ground on the bank of the river where he placed his hospital. He used every endeavour to communicate information of his situation to generals Howe and Clinton, and requested and expected assistance from them; but those officers had no suspicion of his danger, and were not able to afford him any effectual aid. On the 21st, he received a letter from general Clinton informing him of the meditated attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery; but that attack, though successful, availed him nothing.

The two armies lay in front of each other, each fortifying its camp. General Burgoyne's provisions were daily diminishing; and the events of the campaign so little answered the expectation of his savage allies, who were dissatisfied with the restraints which he had imposed on them, that, notwithstanding every entreaty and remonstrance, they abandoned him at that critical period of the campaign.

After the battle of Stillwater, the safety of the British

army lay only in retreat. It was unable to advance; to fall back on the lakes and return to Canada, although difficult, was not then impossible. But every hour lessened the probability of victory, and rendered retreat more impracticable. General Burgoyne, however, could not at once dismiss all the splendid visions of conquest and glory which had so long dazzled his imagination; and he flattered himself with the hope of a powerful co-operation on the side of New York, which had not been concerted, and was not to happen. Under those delusions he lingered in his strong camp from the 20th of September till the 7th of October. During that interval, daily skirmishes happened, which accustomed the raw troops of America to the face of an enemy. General Gates, sensible that delay was in his favour, meditated no immediate attack on the hostile camp; but diligently took measures to prevent the escape of the royal army from the toils in which it was entangled.

General Burgoyne's difficulties were great and daily increasing. His army was reduced to 5000 regular troops; his provisions were almost exhausted, and his men put on short allowance; his horses were perishing for want of forage; he was so environed by the enemy that he could procure no fresh supplies, and he had received no recent intelligence from sir Henry Clinton. He could not long remain in the position which he then occupied, and he was not ignorant of the difficulty and danger of a retreat. In these circumstances, he resolved to try the fortune of another battle; as a victory would enable him either to advance, or to retreat with safety.

Accordingly, on the 7th of October, he led out 1500 men, well provided with artillery, and, accompanied by generals Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer, marched against the enemy, leaving his camp on the high grounds under the care of generals Hamilton and Specht, and the redoubts and posts adjacent to the river under general Gell. General Burgoyne's detachment had scarcely formed within about half a mile of the enemy's entrenchments, when its left, where the grenadiers were posted,

was furiously assailed. The Germans, who were on the right of the grenadiers, were also soon engaged. Three regiments, under general Arnold, proceeded to attack the right of the British detachment in front, while another division endeavoured to turn its flank and gain its rear. In order to frustrate this intention, general Frazer, with the light infantry and part of the 24th regiment, was ordered to cover the right; but, while he was making a movement for that purpose, the left was overpowered and gave way. To save it from destruction, Frazer hastened to its assistance; but met with an American corps of riflemen, which briskly attacked him, and he was mortally wounded in the conflict. The whole royal detachment now gave way; and, with the loss of most of its artillery, retreated to the camp. The Americans closely pursued, and, under a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, fiercely assaulted the works throughout their whole extent. Arnold, who conducted the assault, urged on his men; but was ultimately repulsed by the British under the immediate orders of general Burgoyne, after having had his horse shot under him, and being wounded in the same leg which had been injured at Quebec. The left of the American detachment, under colonel Brooks, was more successful. It turned the right of the royal encampment, stormed the works of the German reserve, under colonel Brehman who was killed, and his troops retreated, with the loss of all their artillery and camp equipage; while Brooks maintained the ground which he had gained.

Darkness, as on the 19th of September, put an end to the bloody conflict; and the Americans lay all night on their arms, about half a mile from the lines, with the intention of renewing the assault in the morning. The advantage which they had gained was great. Without any considerable loss, they had killed many of the enemy, made upwards of 200 prisoners, among whom were several officers of distinction, taken nine pieces of brass artillery, all the baggage and camp equipage of a German brigade, obtained a large supply of ammunition, of

which they stood much in need, and had entered the royal lines, and gained a position which threatened their rear. About midnight, general Lincoln with his division marched from the American camp to relieve the troops who had been engaged, and to occupy the ground which they had won.

General Burgoyne's situation was now critical and distressing. Since he had come fairly into contact with the enemy, he had met with an obstinacy of resistance and a vigour of attack wholly unexpected. In the late encounters, the Americans had shown themselves a match for the best veteran troops, and capable of improving any advantage which they might obtain. Sensible, therefore, of the danger of encountering the events of next day on the ground which he then occupied, general Burgoyne resolved on a total change of position. Accordingly, in the course of the night, in a silent and orderly manner, and without any interruption from the enemy, he moved his camp to the hills, extending his right up the river. The entire change of front extricated him from the immediate danger with which he was threatened; and induced the Americans to make new dispositions.

On the 8th, general Burgoyne made some attempts to provoke general Gates to attack him in the strong position which he had taken: but those attempts were ineffectual; for general Gates, fully aware of his own advantages and of the difficulties to which his adversary was reduced, declined an immediate attack; but was active in taking every precaution to prevent the escape of the royal army. He posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the ford of Saratoga, and sent strong detachments to guard the fords higher up the river.

The 8th of October was spent in skirmishing and cannonading. About sunset, the body of general Frazer, who had been mortally wounded on the preceding day, was, agreeably to his own desire, carried up the hill, to be interred in the great redoubt, attended

only by the officers who had lived in his family. Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Reidesel, in testimony of respect and affection for their late brave companion in arms, joined the mournful procession, which necessarily passed in view of both armies. The incessant cannonade, the steady attitude and unfaltering voice of the chaplain, and the firm demeanour of the company during the funeral service, though occasionally covered with the earth torn up by the shot from the hostile batteries ploughing the ground around them, the mute expression of feeling pictured on every countenance, and the increasing gloom of the evening, all contributed to give an affecting solemnity to the obsequies. General Gates afterwards declared, that if he had been apprised of what was going on, he would at least have silenced his batteries, and allowed the last offices of humanity to be performed without disturbance, or even have ordered minute guns to be fired in honour of the deceased general.

General Burgoyne being informed that an American column was advancing with the intention of gaining his right flank, resolved immediately to retreat to Saratoga, about ten miles up the river. He began his march about nine in the evening of the 8th, leaving behind him several boats loaded with provisions and baggage, and his hospital, containing about 300 sick and wounded men, towards whom general Gates behaved with his usual humanity; but the roads were so bad, and the heavy rain so incessant, that it was the evening of next day before the army, much fatigued, reached Saratoga; and it was not till the forenoon of the 10th that the rear passed the fords of Fishkill Creek, a little farther north. On arriving at the ground which he intended to occupy, general Burgoyne found a party of the enemy already in possession of it; but on his approach they retreated, and joined their countrymen on the east of the river.

The rain, which continued during the whole of the 9th, and greatly retarded the march of the royal army,

kept the Americans in their camp; but it had no sooner ceased, than general Gates set out in pursuit of the retreating enemy. As the roads, however, were extremely bad, and the bridges broken down by the British, it was some time before he overtook them.

From his camp above Fishkill Creek, general Burgoyne sent forward a company of artificers, escorted by a regular regiment, some riflemen, and a body of provincials, to repair the roads and bridges leading to Fort Edward, to enable the army to pursue its march to that place. This party had not long left the camp, when the Americans appeared on the heights below Fishkill Creek; and made dispositions as if intending to force a passage and attack the royal army. General Burgoyne, therefore, recalled the regular troops escorting the artificers; and the provincial corps, under whose protection the workmen were left, being attacked by a small party of the enemy, who had gained the front of the royal army, fled on the first fire, and consequently the artificers were obliged to return to camp, without having performed any part of the task to which they were appointed. As the roads could not be repaired, the baggage and artillery of the army could not proceed.

The Americans not only guarded the ford of Saratoga, but lined the whole eastern bank of the river. Parties of them were advanced between the British army and Fort Edward; and they had also thrown up entrenchments, provided with artillery, on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George. The detachments on the eastern bank so much annoyed the British boats in the river, that general Burgoyne was obliged to land his provisions, and carry them to camp, up a steep hill, under a galling fire from the enemy.

The British general was now in a most distressing situation. He had crossed the Hudson in the confident hope of victory and triumph, and in the expectation of a powerful co-operation from the lower parts of the river, if needful. On the 21st of September, after the battle of the 19th had in some measure made him sen-

sible of his difficulties, he received a messenger from sir Henry Clinton, who informed him of the intended attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery. That messenger he immediately sent back with a letter, informing sir Henry Clinton of his ability and determination to maintain the ground which he then occupied till the 12th of October, and requesting assistance. He had sent other messengers, by different routes, with the same information; but had heard nothing further from New York.

The attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery, which had been delayed till the arrival of reinforcements from Europe, had been successfully made. The voyage of those reinforcements was tedious; but they arrived at New York in the end of September, and sir Henry Clinton without delay embarked 3000 men in vessels of different descriptions, and, convoyed by some ships of war under commodore Hotham, sailed up the Hudson.

Forts Clinton and Montgomery, against which the expedition was directed, were situated on high ground of difficult access, on the western bank of the river, about fifty miles above New York. They were separated by a rivulet, which, flowing from the hills, empties itself into the Hudson. Under cover of the guns, a boom was stretched across the river from bank to bank, and strengthened by an immense iron chain in front, as well as supported by chevaux-de-frise sunk behind it. Above this strong barrier, a frigate and galleys were moored, so as to be able to direct a heavy fire against any vessels that might attempt to force a passage. This seemed to present an insuperable obstacle in the way of the British shipping towards Albany. Fort Independence stood four or five miles below, on a high point of land, on the opposite side of the river. Fort Constitution was six miles above the boom, on an island near the eastern bank: Peekskill, the head-quarters of the officer who commanded on the Hudson, from Kingsbridge to Albany, was just below Fort Independence. on

the same side. General Putnam then held that command, and had about 2000 men under him.

On the 5th of October, sir Henry Clinton landed at Verplank's Point, a little below Peekskill, on the same side of the river. General Putnam, apprehending that the enemy intended to attack Fort Independence, and to march through the highlands on the east of the river towards Albany, retired to the heights in his rear; and, entertaining no suspicion of the real point of attack, neglected to strengthen the garrisons of the forts on the western bank.

The British fleet moved higher up the river, in order to conceal what was passing at the place where the troops had landed; and, on the evening of the day on which he had arrived at Verplank's Point, sir Henry Clinton embarked upwards of 2000 of his men, leaving the rest to guard that post. Early next morning he landed at Stony Point, on the west side of the river, and immediately began his march over the mountains towards the forts. The roads were difficult and the enterprise perilous; for a small body of men, properly posted, might not only have arrested his progress but repulsed him with much loss. He, however, reached the vicinity of the forts before he was discovered; there he fell in with a patrole, who immediately retreated, and gave warning of the approaching danger.

Between four and five on the afternoon of the 6th of October, the British appeared before the forts, which they summoned to surrender; and, on receiving a refusal, instantly advanced under a heavy fire to the assault. Both forts, garrisoned by about 600 men, were attacked at the same time; Fort Montgomery, by colonel Campbell at the head of 900 men; and Fort Clinton, the stronger of the two posts, by sir Henry Clinton with 1200. Fort Montgomery was soon taken; but colonel Campbell fell in the attack. Most of the garrison, favoured by the darkness and by their knowledge of the passes, made their escape. At Fort Clinton the resistance was more obstinate; but that fort also was stormed,

and a considerable number of the garrison killed or made prisoners.

General Putnam had no suspicion of the real point of attack till he heard the firing, when he despatched 500 men to the assistance of the garrisons; but the forts were taken before they arrived, and consequently they returned to camp. In storming the forts, the British had about 150 men killed or wounded. Besides colonel Campbell, captain Stewart, major Sill, and count Grabousky, a Polish nobleman who served as a volunteer in the royal army, were among the slain. The Americans lost 300 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The American vessels of war in the river, being unable to escape, were burnt by their crews, in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the British, who removed the boom and chain, and opened the navigation of the river. Fort Independence was evacuated; and Fort Constitution, where the navigation was obstructed by a boom and chain, was also abandoned, without any attempt to defend it. The British proceeded up the river, destroying every thing in their power. They advanced to Esopus, which they laid in ashes; but proceeded no farther. In this expedition, they took or destroyed a large quantity of American stores.

General Putnam retreated up the river; informed general Gates that he was unable to arrest the progress of the enemy, and advised him to prepare for the worst. But although his rear was threatened, general Gates was eager in improving the advantages he had gained over the British army, which was now reduced to the most distressing circumstances.

General Burgoyne, having been defeated in his intention of repairing the road to Fort Edward, called a council of war, which adopted the desperate resolution of abandoning their baggage, artillery, and stores; and, with their arms only, and such provisions as they could carry on their backs, marching in the night to Fort Edward, crossing the river at the ford there, or at one a

little above it, and forcing their way to Fort George. The distance was only about thirty miles; but the scouts who had been sent out to examine the route, reported that the two fords were all already guarded by strong detachments provided with artillery, so that the resolution which had been taken could not be executed. In these hopeless circumstances, general Burgoyne again summoned his council of war, and, by the unanimous advice of the members, opened a correspondence with general Gates, on the 13th of October; and, on the 16th terms of capitulation were agreed on, by which it was stipulated that the troops under general Burgoyne should next day march out of their camp, with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, and pile their arms at the verge of the river; that a free passage should be granted them to Great Britain, on condition of not serving in North America during the war, unless exchanged; and that they should embark at Boston. To these a number of articles of less importance were added, relating to the property of the officers, Canadians, and loyalists, the march of the troops through New England, and other similar points. On the 17th, the British army piled their arms agreeably to the capitulation.

When the British army left Ticonderago it consisted of about 10,000 men, exclusive of Indians; but, by the casualties of war, and by desertion, it was reduced to about 6000 at the time of the surrender. It contained six members of parliament. General Gates had then under his command upwards of 9000 continentals and 4000 militia. On this occasion the Americans gained a remarkably fine train of brass artillery, amounting to forty pieces of different descriptions, and all the arms and baggage of the troops. Such was the fate of that army which had excited high expectations in Britain, and which, at first, spread alarm and dismay throughout the United States of America.

In consequence of the capitulation at Saratoga, the British were unable to retain possession of the forts on

the lakes. They therefore destroyed the works of Ticonderago and its dependencies, threw the heavy artillery into the lake, and retreated to Isle aux Noix and St. John's.

The great error of general Burgoyne arose from his too ardent desire not to disappoint public expectation, and his unwillingness to renounce the fond hope of victory, conquest, and renown. These induced him to linger on the Hudson till retreat became impracticable. The American troops who subdued him, especially the militia, tarnished their laurels by their pillaging practices, which were carried so far that the general found it necessary to threaten the culprits with the utmost severity of military law.

The convention at Saratoga ought to have induced the British cabinet to abandon the contest, on the best terms that could be obtained; for there was little probability of subjugating a people who had been able to maintain such a protracted struggle, and who, in the course of the campaign, had not only given employment to a powerful army, under generals sir William Howe and sir Henry Clinton, but had also compelled another army, consisting at first of 10,000 excellent troops, commanded by active and enterprising officers, to lay down their arms. This success elevated the spirits of the friends of congress, and increased their number. At first, the British government had not a few who were friendly to it from principle, and many more who did not oppose it from prudence. The measures of the British ministry and the conduct of their agents daily diminished the number of the first of these; and every success of the troops of congress encouraged some of the second to abandon their cautious policy, and espouse the cause of their countrymen.

The distance of the scene of action from Europe made the war extremely expensive to Britain; and the great extent and difficult nature of the country, with the exasperated state of the popular mind, rendered its entire subjugation by an invading army very unlikely. By a

well combined plan of operations, indeed, the British armies employed in America during the campaign, might have triumphed over any opposition that could have been made to them, in any one point. They might have marched through a great part of the country; but their authority would scarcely have extended beyond their camp. They might have overrun the provinces, but without subduing them.

Besides, even although Britain had been successful in subjugating the states, what probability was there that the advantages even of complete victory would have compensated the expense? America might have been ruined; but Britain would have been essentially injured. The provinces could have been kept in subjection only by the presence of a considerable military force, and by bribing one part of the people to assist in oppressing the other. A system of this kind might have lasted for a while, but would ultimately have fallen in pieces by its own weight.

CHAP. XIV.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONVENTION AT SARATOGA. — TREATY WITH FRANCE. — BRITISH PARLIAMENT MEETS. — COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO TREAT WITH THE COLONISTS. — SAIL FOR AMERICA.—NEWS OF THE TREATY WITH FRANCE REACHES THAT COUNTRY. — IMPEDIMENTS IN THE WAY OF EXECUTING THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA. — BRITISH ARMY IN PHILADELPHIA. — AMERICANS AT VALLEY FORGE. — WANT OF PROVISIONS. — PLOT TO REMOVE GENERAL WASHINGTON FROM THE CHIEF COMMAND. — DIFFICULTY OF RECRUITING HIS ARMY. — CARTEL.

THE surrender of the army under general Burgoyne at Saratoga was an event of great importance in the history of the war, and produced momentous consequences both in America and in Europe. It elevated the spirits of the republicans, inspired them with confidence in

themselves, gave a new impulse to their exertions in the cause of independence, and taught the British troops to respect an enemy whom before they had too much despised.

Hitherto, the operations of the war, though by no means decisive, had been in favour of the British, who had gained considerable advantages, and met with no very severe check: but the convention at Saratoga made a great change in the relative position of the contending parties, and rendered the prospect of ultimate success on the part of the British as precarious as that of the Americans had formerly been.

The consequences of this event were not less important in Europe. The ministry and people of Great Britain had entertained the most confident expectations of the complete success of the northern army; and the easy conquest of Ticonderago, with its dependencies, confirmed all their fond anticipations. Therefore, when they heard that general Burgoyne's army was not only defeated, but compelled to lay down its arms, they were struck with astonishment and dismay.

The great powers on the continent of Europe had been attentive observers of the struggle between Great Britain and her colonies, and to those powers the Americans had early applied for assistance. But the strength of Britain was gigantic; and to provoke her vengeance by aiding her rebellious subjects was a danger not rashly to be encountered. Although the continental cabinets, especially that of Versailles, had not discouraged the applications of the Americans, yet they had not given them any open countenance or avowed aid. They had, indeed, afforded the provinces clandestine marks of goodwill, but still preserved the semblance of neutrality. The obstinate struggle, however, which the Americans had maintained, and their success at Saratoga, put an end to this wary and hesitating policy. It was now evident that the resistance of the colonies was not merely an ebullition of popular fury, likely soon to subside or to be easily overcome, but that it was a steady and

organised plan, conducted with respectable ability, and likely to be crowned with ultimate success. The court of France began to throw off the mask. It became less reserved in its communications with the American agents, gave them a public reception, and at length entered into a treaty of alliance with them.

The British parliament met on the 20th of November, and the usual addresses in answer to the royal speech were moved, but they were not carried without opposition. In the house of lords, the celebrated earl of Chatham, then sinking under the infirmities of age and disease, proposed an amendment, by introducing a clause recommending to his majesty an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty of conciliation, "to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries." In his speech he animadverted with much severity on the employment of the savages as auxiliaries in the war, although their aid had not been disdained under his own administration. That singular and successful man gave a striking example of the limited views and short-sighted policy even of illustrious statesmen. He believed that the prosperity of Britain depended on her American colonies, and that the loss of them would be followed by her ruin. But, in reality, the separation of those colonies from the mother country, considered simply in itself, neither tarnished her glory nor impaired her strength. The earl of Chatham's amendment, like every other proposal of concession and conciliation, was lost; and all the measures of the cabinet were carried by great majorities. But the ministry did not long, in unmixed triumph, enjoy their parliamentary victories. The news of general Burgoyne's surrender arrived, and filled them with mortification and dismay. A deep gloom overspread the country: the formidable nature of the resistance in America to ministerial measures was demonstrated; and the movements in the ports of France rendered the in-

terference of that country no longer doubtful, although her professions were still pacific.

The war began to assume a more portentous aspect; and the British ministry, unable to execute their original purpose, lowered their tone and showed an inclination to treat with the colonies, on any terms which did not imply their entire independence and complete separation from the British empire. In order to terminate the quarrel with America before the actual commencement of hostilities with France, lord North introduced two bills into the house of commons: the first declared that parliament would impose no tax or duty whatever, payable within any of the colonies of North America, except only such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the purposes of commerce, the net produce of which should always be paid and applied to and for the use of the colonies in which the same shall be respectively levied, in like manner as other duties collected under the authority of their respective legislatures are ordinarily paid and applied; the second authorised the appointment of commissioners by the crown, with power to treat with either the constituted authorities or with individuals in America; but that no stipulation entered into should have any effect till approved in parliament. It empowered the commissioners, however, to proclaim a cessation of hostilities in any of the colonies; to suspend the operation of the non-intercourse act; also to suspend, during the continuance of the act, so much of all or any of the acts of parliament which have passed since the 10th day of February, 1763, as relates to the colonies; to grant pardons to any number or description of persons; and to appoint a governor in any colony in which his majesty had heretofore exercised the power of making such appointment. The duration of the act was limited to the 1st day of June, 1779.

These bills passed both houses of parliament; and as, about the time of their introduction, ministry received information of the conclusion of the treaty between France and the colonies, they sent off copies of them to

America, even before they had gone through the usual formalities, in order to counteract the effects which the news of the French alliance might produce. Early in March, the earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden, esquires, were appointed commissioners for carrying the acts into execution; and the celebrated Dr. Adam Fergusson, then professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, was nominated their secretary. The commissioners sailed without delay for America. But the present measure, like every other concession in the course of this unhappy contest, came too late. What was now offered would at one time have been hailed in America with acclamations of joy, and secured the grateful affection of the colonists. But circumstances were now changed. The minds of the people were completely alienated from the parent state, and their spirits exasperated by the events of the war. Independence had been declared; victory had emblazoned the standards of congress; and a treaty of alliance with France had been concluded.

On the 16th of December, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and America were agreed on; and the treaty itself was signed at Paris, on the 6th of February, 1778,— an event of which the British ministry got information in little more than forty-eight hours after the signatures were affixed. The principal articles of the treaty were, that if Britain, in consequence of the alliance, should commence hostilities against France, the two countries should mutually assist each other; that the independence of America should be effectually maintained; that if any part of North America, still possessing allegiance to the crown of Britain, should be reduced by the colonies, it should belong to the United States; that if France should conquer any of the British West India islands, they should be deemed its property; that the contracting parties should not lay down their arms till the independence of America was formally acknowledged, and that neither of them should conclude a peace without the consent of the other.

Lord North's conciliatory bills reached America before the news of the French treaty, and excited in congress considerable alarm. There were a number of loyalists in each of the colonies: many, though not unfriendly to the American cause, had never entered cordially into the quarrel; and the heavy pressure of the war had begun to cool the zeal and exhaust the patience of some who had once been forward in their opposition to Britain. Congress became apprehensive lest a disposition should prevail to accept of the terms proposed by the British government, and the great body of the people be willing to resign the advantages of independence, in order to escape from present calamity.

The American legislature referred the bills to a committee of their number, which, after an acute and severe examination, gave in a report, well calculated to counteract the effects which it was apprehended the bills would produce on the minds of the timid and wavering. They reported as their opinion, that it was the aim of those bills to create divisions in the states; and "that they were the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the stamp act down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed; and that, as in other cases, so in this, although circumstances may at times force them to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain." They further reported it as their opinion, that any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States. The committee further gave it as their opinion, that the United States could not hold any conference with the British commissioners, unless Britain first withdrew her fleets and armies, or in positive

and express terms acknowledged the independence of the states.

While these things were going on, Mr. Simeon Deane arrived from Paris, with the important and gratifying information that treaties of alliance and commerce had been concluded between France and the United States. This intelligence diffused a lively joy throughout America; and was received by the people as the harbinger of their independence. The alliance had been long expected; and the delays thrown in the way of its accomplishment had excited many uneasy apprehensions. But these were now dissipated; and, to the fond imaginations of the people, all the prospects of the United States appeared gilded with the cheering beams of prosperity.

On the 29th day of the preceding October, John Hancock, one of the first agents in the revolutionary movements, after having filled the president's chair in congress for nearly two years and a half, requested leave of absence on account of ill health. He had been chosen to succeed Peyton Randolph; and had discharged the duties of president with considerable ability. But, on leaving the chair, he was not followed by the regrets of the more stern republicans, who thought that during the latter part of his presidentship he had leant too much to the aristocratical faction. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was chosen to succeed him in the chair.

The arms of congress had been successful on the Hudson; but many difficulties arose in the execution of the convention of Saratoga. It had been stipulated that general Burgoyne's army should embark at Boston for Europe: but, at the time of signing the convention, the British general seems not to have been aware that it is difficult for ships to reach the port of Boston during the winter; and that, owing to this cause, the embarkation of his troops might be delayed till the ensuing spring. On being apprised of this circumstance, general Burgoyne immediately applied to the American commander-in-chief, desiring him to change the port of embarkation,

and to appoint Newport, in Rhode Island, or some other place on the sound, instead of Boston; and, in case this request should not be complied with, soliciting, on account of his health and private business, that the indulgence might be granted to himself and suite. General Washington, not thinking himself authorised to decide on such an application, transmitted it to congress, which took no notice of the matter further than to pass a resolution, "That general Washington be directed to inform general Burgoyne, that congress will not receive or consider any proposition for indulgence, or altering the terms of the convention of Saratoga, unless immediately addressed to their own body." The application was accordingly made to congress, who readily complied with the request in so far as it respected himself personally, but refused the indulgence to his troops, and ultimately forbade their embarkation.

Congress watched with a jealous eye every movement of the convention army, and soon gave public indications of that jealousy. Early in November, they ordered general Heath, who commanded in Boston, "to take the name, rank, former place of abode, and description of every person comprehended in the convention of Saratoga, in order that, if afterwards found in arms against the United States, they might be punished according to the law of nations." General Burgoyne showed some reluctance to the execution of this order; and his reluctance was imputed to no honourable motives.

If the troops had been embarked in the sound, they might have reached Britain early in the winter, where, without any breach of faith, government might have employed them in garrison duty, and been enabled to send out a corresponding number of troops in time to take an active part in the next campaign. But if the port of Boston were adhered to as the place of embarkation, the convention troops could not, it was thought, sail before the spring; and consequently could not be replaced by the troops whose duties they might perform at home, till late in the year 1778. This circumstance deter-

mined congress to abide by Boston as the port of embarkation; and in this their conduct was free from blame. But, by the injuries mutually inflicted and suffered in the course of the war, the minds of the contending parties were exasperated and filled with suspicion and distrust of each other. Congress placed no reliance on British faith and honour; and, on the subject under consideration, gave clear evidence that, on those points, they were not over scrupulous themselves.

On arriving in Boston the British officers found their quarters uncomfortable. The care of providing for their accommodation had been entrusted chiefly to a person who, by low and niggardly practices, had acquired considerable property and influence; and he no doubt imagined that the lodgings which he thought convenient would be reckoned so by British officers, educated in the sentiments and habits of gentlemen. But the officers were much dissatisfied; and, after a fruitless correspondence with general Heath, general Burgoyne addressed himself to general Gates, and complained of the inconvenient quarters assigned his officers as a breach of the articles of capitulation. Congress was highly offended at the imputation, and considered, or affected to consider, the charge as made with a view to justify a violation of the convention by his army, as soon as they escaped from captivity. A number of transports for carrying off the convention troops was collected in the sound sooner than was expected: but that number, amounting only to twenty-six, the Americans thought insufficient for transporting such a number of men to Britain in the winter season; and inferred that the intention could only be to carry them to the Delaware, and incorporate them with general Howe's army. They also alleged that a number of cartouche-boxes, and other accoutrements of war, belonging to the British army, had not been delivered up, agreeably to the convention; and argued that this violation on the part of the British released congress from its obligations to fulfil the terms of that compact.

On the 8th of January, congress resolved "to suspend the embarkation of the army, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to congress." Afterwards the embarkation of the troops was delayed or refused on various pretences; and that important part of the convention remained unfulfilled. The troops were long detained in Massachusetts; they were afterwards sent to the back parts of Virginia, and none of them were released but by exchange. It was obviously the aim of congress to keep 5000 men out of the field; but the means which they employed for the accomplishment of their purpose were dishonourable, and they lost more in character than they gained in strength. Honesty is the best policy for nations, as well as for individuals; but the conduct of the Americans in the matter under consideration had more of the trick and artifice of low traffickers than of the fearless integrity becoming the rulers of a powerful people. Some of the allegations by which they attempted to justify themselves were false, and some frivolous. They affected to distrust British faith and honour; but it is easy for a man at any time to accuse his neighbour of bad intentions, if that were to be sustained as a valid plea for his own dishonesty.

The terms granted to general Burgoyne were no doubt favourable: but congress well knew that general Gates was induced to accede to them by the apprehension of general Clinton's advancing up the Hudson, destroying the stores at Albany, and threatening his rear; for the convention of Saratoga was concluded before general Clinton's detachment returned to New York. In signing the convention, general Gates had not exceeded the limits of his commission; and therefore congress were bound by every principle of honour to fulfil the terms of it. But for a little temporary advantage they gave their honour as chaff to the wind.

The British army in Philadelphia spent the winter in gaiety and revelry, injuring at once their own respect-

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ability and the cause which they were employed to support. They disgusted the soher inhabitants by their irregularities, and provoked them by their insolence; so that many who had hailed their arrival with cordial gratulations, felt a lively satisfaction when the hour of their departure came.

General Washington quitted White Marsh, crossed the Schuylkill at Sweed's Ford, and, on the 19th of December, took a strong position at Valley Forge, about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia. Had he retired during the winter to the shelter of a large town, he must have gone to a great distance from the British army, and left an extensive tract of country open to their foraging parties; or had he cantoned his men in the adjacent villages, his army might have been beaten in detail and gradually destroyed. But at Valley Forge he was sufficiently near Philadelphia to check the foraging parties of the enemy, and his army was so much concentrated as to secure it from any sudden and desultory attack.

At Valley Forge the American commander-in-chief lodged his army in huts formed of logs, with the interstices filled with mud, which constituted very acceptable habitations to men long unaccustomed to the conveniences of life. But, though sheltered from the storm by their rude dwellings, the sufferings of the army from want of provisions and clothing were incredible. The winter was severe, and many of the men were without stockings or shoes, and almost naked. The non-importation associations rendered cloth scarce at the commencement of hostilities; the war rendered importation difficult; and the consumption exceeded the produce of the home manufacture. Hence the army was left in a destitute and deplorable condition; and the line of march, from White Marsh to Valley Forge, over rough and frozen roads, might have been traced by the blood from the bare and mangled feet of the soldiers. Under shelter of the huts their sufferings were at first considerably alleviated; but in a short time the miseries of want, amounting almost

to famine, were added to those of nakedness. In these trying circumstances numbers of the troops, especially they who had been born in Europe, eluded the vigilance of the guards, and deserted to the enemy in Philadelphia, carrying their arms along with them. Many loyalists also joined general Howe; so that the strength of his army was sensibly increased.

The wants and hardships of the American army were partly unavoidable, and partly owing to mismanagement. Early in the war, colonel Trumball, of Connecticut, an active and zealous officer, was appointed commissary-general; but, from his inexperience, and the difficulty of organising that complicated department, complaints were repeatedly made of the insufficiency of the supplies. Congress interfered with officious zeal, and attempted to remedy the defect by new-modelling the department. In that body there were a number of men of unquestionable talents, and who were expert in the management of their own private affairs; but they had little experience in legislation or the conduct of war, and were sufficiently forward in substituting their own fanciful theories in the place of practical wisdom, especially when the object was to concentrate all power in themselves. They appointed a commissary-general of purchases, and a commissary-general of issues, with four deputies under each, all nominated by congress, and removable by it only. This arrangement was made in the preceding summer, when colonel Trumball declined the office of commissary-general of purchases. The consequence was, that the whole of that important department was disorganised in the middle of an active campaign, and the evil which congress intended to remove was greatly aggravated. The success of general Gates had been more endangered by the want of supplies than by the numbers and bravery of general Burgoyne's troops: general Washington also, during the summer, had been much embarrassed by the want of provisions; and at Valley Forge his army was assailed both by hunger and nakedness.

Many representations on this subject had been sub-

mitted to congress, which had authorised the commander-in-chief to seize provisions for his army wherever he could find them, within seventy miles of headquarters, paying for them with money, or giving certificates for the redemption of which the faith of the United States was pledged. This odious power general Washington was extremely backward to exercise; but at Valley Forge his necessities were so pressing that he was constrained to have recourse to it; and, notwithstanding all his precautions, the manner in which his orders were executed did not always soften the rigour of this harsh measure. Men with arms in their hands, and supported by authority, are seldom delicate in supplying their urgent wants.

The American commander-in-chief was ill-provided with money, and could make his payments only in paper of very uncertain value; but the supplies carried into Philadelphia were readily paid for by the British troops in gold and silver; and the patriotism of the people was not sufficiently ardent to prevent them from carrying their goods to the best market. It was, however, no easy matter for the country people to carry provisions into Philadelphia without detection and punishment; for the American detachments and patroles, though at a respectful distance, almost encircled the city. General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was at the old camp at Whitemarsh; general Smallwood was detached to Wilmington; colonel Morgan, whose riflemen had been so active on the Hudson during the preceding campaign, guarded the western bank of the Schuylkill; count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman in the service of the United States, who had been appointed to command the cavalry, was posted with a part of his force at Trenton; and major Jamieson and captain Lee were appointed to watch both sides of the Delaware. These parties greatly interrupted, although they did not entirely prevent, the intercourse of the British troops in Philadelphia with the country; for the country people at times eluded their vigilance, and entered the city with provisions, where

they found a ready market and good prices; but when apprehended by their countrymen, they received summary and unceremonious chastisement.

While the army lay at Valley Forge, a plot was formed to remove general Washington from the chief command; and in that plot several members of congress, and a very few military officers, were concerned. Insinuations against the military talents of general Washington were industriously circulated; and the public attention was directed towards general Gates, whose success at Saratoga had thrown a brilliant lustre round his name. General Thomas Conway was an active agent in the plot; and many of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, chagrined by the loss of their capital, and willing to devolve on the general who had twice, with inferior forces, fought the enemy in their defence, the blame of those misfortunes which had arisen from their own pusillanimity and carelessness in not reinforcing the army, readily joined in the clamour. The conduct of general Gates was equivocal, but he solemnly disclaimed all connection with the faction. The officers of general Washington's army, strongly attached to him, felt the liveliest indignation against those intriguers who wished to remove their favourite leader from his command. By the uniform tenour of his conduct, general Washington had won the affection and esteem of almost all his troops, both officers and privates; and, fortunately for America, there was enough of discernment in congress to resist the dark machinations of the faction, and to continue their brave and upright commander-in-chief at the head of the army. His situation, however, was by no means enviable. His army was much attached to him; but weakened by disease, and irritated by nakedness and hunger, it was almost on the point of dissolution. In the midst of the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, general Washington displayed a singular degree of steady perseverance, unshaken fortitude, and unwearied activity. Instead of manifesting irritable impatience under the malignant attacks made on his

character, he behaved with magnanimity, and earnestly applied to congress, and to the legislative bodies of the several states, for reinforcements to his army, in order that he might be prepared to act with vigour in the ensuing campaign.

But to recruit and equip the army was no easy task. The great depreciation of paper money rendered the pay of the soldiers inadequate to their support; and, consequently, it was not likely that voluntary enlistment would be successful, especially since the patriotic ardour of many had begun to cool by the continuance of the war, and all knew that great hardships and dangers were to be encountered by joining the army. The pay even of the officers, in the depreciated paper currency, was wholly unequal to the maintenance of their rank. Some of them who had small patrimonial estates found them melting away, while their lives were unprofitably devoted to the service of their country; and they who had no private fortune could not appear in a manner becoming their station. A commission was a burden; and many considered the acceptance of one as conferring rather than receiving a favour: a state of things highly disadvantageous to the service; for the duties of an office scarcely reckoned worth holding will seldom be zealously and actively discharged. There was reason to apprehend that many of the most meritorious officers would resign their commissions; and that they only who were less qualified for service would remain with the army.

Congress, moved by the remonstrances of the commander-in-chief, and by the complaints with which they were assailed from every quarter, deputed a committee of their body to reside in camp during the winter; and, in concert with the general, to examine the state of the army, and report on the measures necessary to be taken for placing it in a more respectable condition. But the reforms in the army were tardily made. Congress were fond of their own speculations, although experience had proved them mischievous; and were slow in rectifying the evils which arose from their own

errors. The state legislatures were backward in adopting coercive measures for recruiting the army; and each of them was jealous of bearing more than its share of the war. At length, however, an efficient commissary-general was appointed; the other departments were put on a more desirable footing; and vigorous measures were pursued to prepare for the ensuing campaign.

During the winter there was a good deal of correspondence between the generals respecting prisoners of war. Complaints were mutual; and a partial cartel was agreed to.

CHAP. XV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS. — PASSPORT TO DR. FERGUSSON REFUSED BY CONGRESS. — MR. JOHNSTONE'S CORRESPONDENCE. — COMMISSIONERS LEAVE AMERICA. — COLONEL MAWHOOD'S INCURSION INTO JERSEY. — GENERAL LACY ESCAPES FROM CROOKED BILLET. — AMERICAN GALLEYS IN THE DELAWARE DESTROYED. — LA FAYETTE ESCAPES FROM BARONHILL. — SIR HENRY CLINTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY. — EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA. — BATTLE OF FREEHOLD COURT-HOUSE. — GENERAL LEE SUSPENDED. — HIS CHARACTER. — BRITISH ARMY ARRIVES AT NEW YORK. — GENERAL WASHINGTON MARCHES TO THE NORTH RIVER.

BEFORE resuming the narrative of hostile operations, it will be proper to attend to the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by Great Britain to negotiate with the Americans. Earl Carlisle, William Eden, and George Johnstone, esquires, (who, in conjunction with admiral lord Howe, and general sir William Howe, or, in case of the absence of the last, sir Henry Clinton, had been appointed commissioners,) and arrived in the Delaware. But general Howe, who at the close of the preceding campaign had desired to be recalled, had previously resigned his command, and sailed for Britain. Sir Henry Clinton succeeded him both as commander-

in-chief and commissioner. Meanwhile, congress resolved to reject all proposals of peace inconsistent with the independence of America, or with alliances and treaties which the United States had entered into, and declared that they could hold no conference with the commissioners unless the British army were first withdrawn, or the independence of the United States expressly acknowledged. It was, therefore, evident that no peace could be concluded between Great Britain and America, under the powers with which the commissioners were invested.

But, even in these unpromising circumstances, the commissioners determined to make every effort to fulfil the purposes for which they were sent; and accordingly despatched Dr. Fergusson, their secretary, to Yorktown, to lay before congress a copy of their commission, the act of parliament on which it was founded, and a letter from themselves, explaining the extent of their powers, and proposing that congress should appoint a place where the British legation should meet them, either collectively or by deputation. General Washington had previously been applied to for a passport and safe-conduct to Dr. Fergusson, and no doubt of his granting them was entertained. But, on reaching the American outposts, Dr. Fergusson was not permitted to proceed; general Washington having declined to grant a passport till he received the instructions of congress on the subject. Dr. Fergusson returned to Philadelphia; and the papers of which he had been the bearer were transmitted to Yorktown by the American military posts, and reached congress on the 13th of June. After deliberating on the papers submitted to them, congress, by their president, replied, that all these papers supposed the people of the United States were subjects of the king of Great Britain, and were founded on an idea of dependence which was totally inadmissible; but that they were ready to enter on the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already made, whenever the king of Great Britain

should demonstrate a sincere desire for such a measure, by an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or by withdrawing his fleets and armies. They also approved of general Washington's conduct, in refusing a passport to Dr. Fergusson.

This business gave congress no small degree of uneasiness; for more was now offered than had been originally asked, and strong apprehensions were entertained that many of the people would think the proposals now made satisfactory; that the union of the states would be broken, and their strength weakened, at a time when all their combined energies were needful to resist the power of the British government. Attempts were therefore made to convince the people that the offers were insidious, and ought to be rejected; which representations produced the desired effect.

The commissioners, though defeated in their attempt to open a negotiation with congress, did not abandon their enterprise, but displayed as much zeal on the one side as their opponents did on the other. From New York, in the month of July, they addressed a second letter to congress, refusing to withdraw the British fleets and armies; stating that if, by the independence of America, congress meant no more than that the people of that continent should enjoy the privilege of disposing of their own property, and governing themselves without any reference to Great Britain, beyond what was necessary to preserve a union of force for the safety of the whole empire, such independence had been acknowledged already in the first letter of the commissioners. They also reminded congress that they had furnished them with a copy of the powers under which they acted, and remarked that they expected congress, as a reciprocal mark of confidence, should inform them of the powers with which they were invested by their constituents to contract alliances with foreign governments; and, as these alliances were to influence the negotiations, they expected copies of the treaties on which they were founded. In the concluding part of this letter, the

commissioners seem entirely to have forgotten that congress never put itself on a level with them; but claimed a rank and authority equal to that from which they derived their commission. But, on both sides, the communications seem to have been composed more with a view to publication, and an impression on the public mind, than with a regard to soundness of principle, strength of argument, or closeness of reasoning. Public opinion was the object of contest; congress endeavouring to retain its hold of the popular mind, and the commissioners to loosen that hold.

Of the last-mentioned letter the American legislature took no further notice than by resolving not to answer it, on the ground that neither of the two requisite preliminaries to a negotiation had been complied with; and they seemed to wish and intend that this haughty silence should close the correspondence. But the British delegates determined that they should not so easily escape. The troops taken at Saratoga were still detained in captivity, in violation of the convention on which they had surrendered. On that subject, the commissioners, on the 7th of August, addressed a remonstrance to congress from New York; in which they complained of the detention of those troops, demanded a free entrance for transports into the harbour of Boston to convey them to Britain, and offered to renew and ratify, in the name of their government, every article of the convention. To this remonstrance they required a speedy, direct, and explicit answer. But, instead of returning such an answer, congress evaded the unpleasant subject, and transmitted to the commissioners a remonstrance against the conduct of Mr. Johnstone, one of their number, whom they charged with attempting to corrupt and bribe some of their members, and declared it incompatible with their honour to hold any further communication with Mr. Johnstone, especially on matters in which liberty and virtue were concerned. Such was the affectation of pure integrity by men who were obstinately persisting in the violation of a solemn compact.

The charge was founded on letters written by Mr. Johnstone to members of congress, with some of whom he was personally acquainted, and to others he had letters of introduction from their friends in England. In the British parliament Mr. Johnstone had been a zealous friend of the original claims of the Americans; and on that ground, perhaps, thought himself entitled to use more freedom in his communications with the friends of America than otherwise he might have done. No bribe was offered; but some expressions were incautious: and these expressions served congress as a pretext for declining any further communication with him, and for breaking off a correspondence with the commissioners which they did not wish to continue.

Mr. Johnstone immediately withdrew from the commission, transmitted to congress a notification of his having done so, and severely animadverted on the proceedings of that assembly. At the same time the other commissioners, in a letter to congress, declared their ignorance of Mr. Johnstone's correspondence till they saw it in the newspapers; and again transmitted the remonstrance respecting the Saratoga troops, signed only by the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and general sir Henry Clinton. Those troops congress was determined to detain, till released by an exchange of prisoners; and, therefore, passed a resolution purporting that the commissioners had not power to ratify the convention of Saratoga in the requisite manner.

On the 19th of September, sir Henry Clinton transmitted to congress an extract from instructions which he had received from the secretary of state since the date of the remonstrance, authorising him, in express terms, to demand the fulfilment of the convention made with general Burgoyne, and, if required, to renew and ratify, in the king's name, the stipulations which it contained. In his letter on that occasion, the British general expressed himself with unguarded warmth; and therefore congress, eager to embrace every subterfuge and evasion, took no further notice of his communica-

tion than to order their secretary to write him, that "congress gave no answer to insolent letters."

Finding all their efforts to open a negotiation ineffectual, the commissioners, as the closing act of their labours, on the 3d of October, addressed a manifesto and proclamation to congress, to the members of the general assemblies and inhabitants of the several provinces, in which they set forth the measures which they had pursued in order to accomplish the purposes of their mission, and the refusal of congress to enter into any conference with them. They represented the extent and beneficial tendency of the terms which they were empowered to offer, and declared that, notwithstanding the obstructions which they had met with, they were still ready to treat with deputies from all or any of the colonies, at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their proclamation. They endeavoured to persuade persons of every rank and profession in society of the advantages which they would derive from the acceptance of their benevolent offers; proclaimed a pardon of all past treasons to all the inhabitants of the provinces, who, within the prescribed time, should cease to oppose the British government, and should behave themselves as loyal subjects; and they denounced vengeance against all who should persist in rebellion against their lawful sovereign. That all the colonists might be apprised of the gracious intentions of the British government, the commissioners ordered a copy of the proclamation, under their hands and seals, to be sent, by a flag of truce, to each of the thirteen provinces.

This was evidently an appeal from congress to the people. Congress caused the manifesto and proclamation to be published in the newspapers; but, at the same time, recommended it to the executive power in the several states to seize and detain in prison, as violators of the law of nations, all persons who, under pretence of a flag of truce, should be found distributing the manifesto and proclamation; and also enacted, that exemplary punishment should be inflicted on those individuals who

might attempt to execute the severities threatened by the commissioners.

This terminated the campaign of diplomatic management and paper war between the commissioners and congress. The British legation remained at New York till the expiration of the term prescribed in the manifesto, but received neither offers of submission nor applications for pardon. Soon afterwards they sailed for Britain.

From the position which general Washington had taken at Valley Forge, and from the activity and vigilance of his patroles, the British army in Philadelphia was straitened for forage and fresh provisions. A considerable number of the people of Pennsylvania were well affected to the British cause, and desirous of supplying the troops, while many more were willing to carry victuals to Philadelphia, where they found a ready market, and payment in gold or silver; whereas the army at Valley Forge could pay only in paper money of uncertain value. But it was not easy to reach Philadelphia, nor safe to attempt it; for the American parties often intercepted them, took the provisions without payment, and not unfrequently added corporal chastisement. The first operations on the part of the British, therefore, in the campaign of 1778, were undertaken in order to procure supplies for the army. About the middle of March, a strong detachment, under lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, made a foraging excursion, for six or seven days, into Jersey, surprised and defeated the American parties at Hancock's and Quinton's Bridges on Always Creek, which falls into the Delaware to the south of Reedy Island, killed or took fifty or sixty of the militia; and, after a successful expedition, returned to Philadelphia with little loss.

A corps of Pennsylvania militia, daily varying in number, sometimes not exceeding fifty, sometimes amounting to 600, under general Lacy, had taken post at a place called Crooked Billet, about seventeen miles from Philadelphia, on the road to New York, for the purpose of intercepting the country people who attempted to carry

provisions to the British army. Early on the morning of the 4th of May, colonel Abercrombie and major Simcoe, with a strong detachment, attempted to surprise this party; but Lacy escaped with little loss, except his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 7th of May, the British undertook an expedition against the galleys and other shipping which had escaped up the Delaware, after the reduction of Mud Island, and destroyed upwards of forty vessels and some stores and provisions. The undisputed superiority of the British naval force, and the consequent command of the Delaware, gave them great facilities in directing a suitable armament against any particular point; and the movements of the militia, on whom congress chiefly depended for repelling sudden predatory incursions, and for guarding the roads to Philadelphia, were often tardy and inefficient. The roads were ill guarded; and the British commonly accomplished their foraging and returned to camp before an adequate force could be assembled to oppose them.

To remedy these evils, to annoy the rear of the British troops, in case they evacuated Philadelphia, which it was now suspected they intended to do, and also to form an advanced guard of the main army, the marquis de la Fayette, with upwards of 2000 chosen men, and six pieces of artillery, was ordered to the east of the Schuylkill, and took post on Baron Hill, seven or eight miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. Sir William Howe immediately got notice of his position, and formed a plan to surprise and cut him off. For that purpose, a detachment of 5000 of the best troops of the British army, under general Grant, marched from Philadelphia on the night of the 20th of May, and took the road which runs along the Delaware, and consequently does not lead directly to Baron Hill. But, after advancing a few miles, the detachment turned to the left, and, proceeding by White Marsh, passed at no great distance from La Fayette's left flank, and about sunrise reached a point in his rear, where two roads diverged, one leading

to the camp of the marquis, the other to Matson's Ford, each about a mile distant. There general Grant's detachment was first observed by the Americans; and the British perceived, by the rapid movements of some hostile horsemen, that they were seen. Both La Fayette's camp, and the road leading from it to Matson's Ford, were concealed from the British troops by intervening woods and high grounds. General Grant spent some time in making dispositions for the intended attack. That interval was actively improved by the marquis, who, although not apprised of the full extent of his danger, acted with promptitude and decision. He marched rapidly to Matson's Ford, from which he was somewhat more distant than the British detachment, and reached it while general Grant was advancing against Baron Hill, in the belief that the marquis de la Fayette was still there. The Americans hurried through the ford, leaving their artillery behind; but, on discovering that they were not closely pursued, some of them returned and dragged the field-pieces across the river: a small party was also sent into the woods to retard the progress of the British advanced guard, if it should approach while the artillery was in the ford.

On finding the camp at Baron Hill deserted, general Grant immediately pursued in the track of the retreating enemy, towards Matson's Ford. His advanced guard overtook some of the small American party, which had been sent back to cover the passage of the artillery, before they could recross the river, and took or killed a few of them; but on reaching the ford general Grant found the marquis so advantageously posted on the rising ground on the opposite bank, and his artillery so judiciously placed, that it was deemed unadvisable to attack him. Thus the attempt against the marquis de la Fayette failed, although the plan was well-concerted, and on the very point of success. In the British army sanguine expectations of the favourable issue of the enterprise were entertained; and in order to ensure a happy result, a large detachment under general Grey, in the

course of the night, took post at a ford of the Schuylkill, two or three miles in front of La Fayette's right flank, to intercept him, if he should attempt to escape in that direction, while the main body of the army advanced to Chesnut Hill to support the attack; but on the failure of the enterprise the whole returned to Philadelphia.

General Grant's detachment was seen from the camp at Valley Forge about the time it was discovered by the troops at Baron Hill: alarm-guns were fired to warn the marquis of his danger; and the whole army was drawn out, to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require. The escape of the detachment was the cause of much joy and congratulation in the American, and of disappointment and chagrin in the British, army.

That a strong detachment of hostile troops should pass at a small distance from La Fayette's flank, and gain his rear unobserved, seems to argue a want of due vigilance on the part of that officer; but the Pennsylvania militia had been posted at a little distance on his left, and he relied on them for watching the roads in that quarter. The militia, however, had quitted their station, without informing him of their movement; and consequently his left flank, and the roads about White Marsh, remained unguarded.

About that time, sir William Howe resigned the command of the army. So far back as the month of October in the preceding year he had requested to be relieved from the painful service in which he was engaged. On the 14th of April, 1778, he received his majesty's permission to resign; but at the same time he was directed, while he continued in command, to embrace every opportunity of putting an end to the war, by a due employment of the force under his orders. In the beginning of June, after having received, in a triumphal procession and joyous festival, a splendid testimony of the approbation and esteem of the army, he sailed for England, leaving the troops under the care of sir Henry Clinton as his successor.

Sir William Howe has been much blamed for inac-

tivity, and for not overwhelming the Americans; but he was as successful at least as any other general employed in the course of the war. He was cautious, and sparing of the lives of his men. In his operations, he discovered a respectable share of military science, and he met with no great reverses. They who blame him for want of energy may look to the history of generals Burgoyne and Cornwallis for the fate of more enterprising leaders.

About the time when sir William Howe resigned the command of the army, the British government ordered the evacuation of Philadelphia. While the British had an undisputed naval superiority, Philadelphia was, in some respects, a good military station. Although in all the states a decided majority of the people gave their support to congress, yet in every province south of New England there was a considerable minority friendly to the claims of the mother-country. The occupation of Philadelphia, the principal city of the confederation, encouraged the latter class of the inhabitants, and the army there formed a point round which they might rally. But Philadelphia is 100 miles up the Delaware; and as sir William Howe hsd been unable to drive general Washington from the field, he had found some difficulty in subsisting his army in that city, even when the British ships had the full command of the sea, and could force their way up the great rivers; but when the empire of the ocean was about to be disputed by the French, Philadelphia became a hazardous post, on account of the difficulty and uncertainty of procuring provisions, receiving communications, or sending aid to such places as might be attacked. It was accordingly resolved to abandon that city; and as circumstances were changed, instead of returning by sea, to march the army through the Jerseys to New York, where the communication with the ocean is more easy.

The preparations for this movement could not be so secretly made as to escape the notice of the Americans; and to be in readiness for it was one reason of detach-

ing the marquis de la Fayette to Baron Hill, where he had been exposed to so much danger. General Washington called in his detachments, and pressed the state governments to hasten the march of their new levies, in order that he might be enabled to act offensively: but the new levies arrived slowly; and in some instances the state legislatures were deliberating on the means of raising them, at the time when they should have been in the field.

Although general Washington was satisfied of the intention of the British commander-in-chief to evacuate Philadelphia, yet it was uncertain in what way he would accomplish his purpose; but the opinion that he intended to march through the Jerseys to New York gained ground in the American camp; and in this persuasion general Washington detached general Maxwell with the Jersey brigade across the Delaware, to cooperate with general Dickinson, who was assembling the Jersey militia, in breaking down the bridges, felling trees across the roads, and impeding and harrassing the British troops in their retreat; but with orders to be on his guard against a sudden attack.

General Washington summoned a council of war to deliberate on the measures to be pursued in that emergency. It was unanimously resolved not to molest the British army in passing the Delaware; but with respect to subsequent operations there was much difference of opinion in the council. General Lee, who had lately joined the army after his exchange, was decidedly against risking either a general or partial engagement. The British army he estimated at 10,000 men fit for duty, exclusive of officers, while the American army did not amount to 11,000; he was therefore of opinion that, with such an equality of force, it would be criminal to hazard a battle. He relied much on the imposing attitude in which their late foreign alliance placed them, and maintained that nothing but a defeat of the army could now endanger their independence. Almost all the foreign officers agreed in opinion with

general Lee; and among the American generals only Wayne and Cadwallader were decidedly in favour of attacking the enemy. In these circumstances, general Washington, although strongly inclined to fight, found himself constrained to act with much circumspection.

Having made all the requisite preparations, sir Henry Clinton, early in the morning of the 18th of June, led the British army to the confluence of the Delaware and Schuylkill, where boats and other vessels were ready to receive them; and so judicious were the arrangements made by the admiral, that all the troops, with the baggage and artillery, were carried across the Delaware, and safely landed on the Jersey side of the river before ten in the forenoon. Many of the loyalists of Philadelphia accompanied the army, carrying their effects along with them; and such of them as ventured to remain behind met with little indulgence from their irritated countrymen. Several of them were tried for their lives, and two quakers were executed. The Americans entered the city before the British rear-guard had entirely left it.

There are two roads leading from Philadelphia to New York; the one running along the western bank of the Delaware to Trenton Ferry, and the other along the eastern bank to the same point. The British army had wisely crossed the river at the point where it was least exposed to molestation, and entered on the last of these two roads. In marching through a difficult and hostile country, sir Henry Clinton prudently carried along with him a considerable quantity of baggage, and a large supply of provisions; so that the progress of the army, thus heavily incumbered, was but slow. It proceeded leisurely through Huddersfield, Mount Holly, Crosswick, and reached Allentown on the 24th; having, in seven days, marched less than forty miles. This slow progress made the Americans believe that sir Henry Clinton wished to be attacked. General Maxwell, who was posted at Mount Holly, retired on his approach;

and neither he nor general Dickinson was able to give him much molestation.

As the march of the British army, till it passed Crosswick, was up the Delaware, and only at a small distance from that river, general Washington, who left Valley Forge on the day that sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, found it necessary to take a circuitous route, and pass the river higher up, at Coryell's Ferry, where he crossed it on the 22d, and took post at Hopewell, on the high grounds in that vicinity, and remained during the 23d in that position.

From Allentown there were two roads to New York; one on the left passing through South Amboy to the North River, the other on the right leading to Sandy Hook. The first of these was somewhat shorter, but the river Raritan lay in the way, and it might be difficult and dangerous to pass it in presence of the enemy. Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, resolved to take the road to Sandy Hook, by which the Raritan would be altogether avoided.

Although a great majority in the American council of war were averse from fighting, yet general Washington was strongly inclined to attack the British army. He summoned the council of war a second time, and again submitted the subject to their consideration; but they adhered to their former opinion: and general Washington, still inclined to attack the enemy, determined to act, to a certain extent, on his own responsibility.

The Jersey militia and a brigade of continentals, under generals Dickinson and Maxwell, hovered on the left flank of the British army; general Cadwallader, with a continental regiment and a few militia, was in its rear, and colonel Morgan, with his regiment 600 strong, was on its right. These detachments were ordered to harass the enemy as much as possible.

As sir Henry Clinton proceeded on the route towards Sandy Hook, general Washington strengthened his advanced guard till it amounted to 5000 men. General Lee, from his rank, had a claim to the command of that

force; but, at first, he declined it, and the marquis de la Fayette was appointed to that service. But general Lee, perceiving the importance of the command; solicited the appointment which he had at first declined, and was accordingly sent forward with a reinforcement, when, from seniority, the whole of the advanced guard became subject to his orders.

On the evening of the 27th sir Henry Clinton took a strong position on the high grounds about Freehold Court House, in the county of Monmouth. His right was posted in a small wood; his left was covered by a thick forest and a morass; he had a wood in front, also a marsh for a considerable space towards his left; and he was within twelve miles of the high grounds at Middletown, after reaching which no attempt could be made upon him with any prospect of success. His position was unassailable; but general Washington resolved to attack his rear in the morning, as soon as it descended from the high grounds into the plain beyond them, and gave orders accordingly to general Lee, who was at English Town, three miles in the rear of the British army, and as much in advance of the main body of the Americans.

By the strong parties on his flanks and rear, the British commander was convinced that the hostile army was at hand; and, suspecting that an attempt on his baggage was intended, on the morning of the 28th he changed his order of march, and put all the baggage under the care of general Knyphausen, who commanded the van division of his army, in order that the rear division, consisting of the flower of the troops, under earl Cornwallis, might be unencumbered, and ready to act as circumstances might require. Sir Henry Clinton remained with the rear division.

At day-break on the morning of the 28th of June, general Knyphausen marched with the van division, having in charge the baggage, which was so abundant as to extend in a line nearly twelve miles. The rear of the army, that it might not press too much on the van,

did not leave its ground till near eight in the morning. General Lee, who on the preceding evening had received orders to attack the British rear, which orders were repeated in the morning, with an assurance that the main body of the army would advance and support him, prepared to obey his instructions. Scarcely had the British rear-guard descended from the heights of Freehold into a plain three miles long and one broad, when the American van was seen advancing and descending from the heights which the British had just left. At the same time sir Henry Clinton perceived strong columns on his flanks. Convinced that his baggage was aimed at, he thought the best method of securing it was to make a vigorous attack on the division in his rear, and to press it so closely as to render the recall of the columns on his flanks necessary. He accordingly made the proper dispositions for attacking the enemy; while general Lee, who believed he had to do with a rear-guard only, and from whom the movements of the British were concealed by intervening woods, advanced over some narrow passes in a morass into the plain: but, instead of a rear-guard, he saw the flower of the British army drawn up to receive him. He perceived his mistake and danger, and instantly retreated, before the British were ready to attack him; sensible that, if beaten on that ground, his retreat across the morass would be difficult or impracticable, and that he could not be easily reinforced, he resolved to regain the rising ground, that he might receive the attack of the enemy in a more favourable position. While he was making this retrograde movement, near mid-day, general Washington rode forward, and, ignorant of the causes and motives of the retreat, addressed general Lee in warm terms of disapprobation. The British army advanced rapidly upon them, and Washington ordered Lee to arrest their progress while he brought up the main body of the army to his assistance.

General Lee, who had reached the ground where he intended to fight, executed his orders with characteristic

courage and skill. A sharp conflict ensued: the Americans were compelled to retreat, which they did in good order. The British advanced and attacked the second line of the Americans, which was strongly posted, and made a vigorous resistance. After some severe fighting, and several movements on each side, general Washington having brought forward the main body of the American army and occupied advantageous ground, sir Henry Clinton withdrew his troops and took a good position near the place where the battle began, at which he remained till ten at night, when he resumed his march, carrying along with him his wounded, except such as could not be moved.

In this indecisive encounter, each party claimed the victory. The event was celebrated with rejoicings throughout the United States, and congress returned thanks to general Washington and his army. But sir Henry Clinton gained the object for which he engaged, and in so far the victory was on his side; for he was afterwards allowed to pursue his march without interruption. About the time of the battle some attempts were made on the baggage, but they were easily repelled, and all the American advanced parties were recalled.

In the battle of Freehold Court House, the loss of both armies was nearly equal, amounting to about 400 men on each side. The British lost lieutenant-colonel Monckton, who was much lamented. The American army particularly regretted the death of lieutenant-colonel Bonner of Pennsylvania, and of major Dickinson of Virginia. The day was exceedingly warm; and the heat and fatigue proved fatal to several soldiers in each army, who expired without a wound.

General Lee, conceiving himself to have been insulted by general Washington on the field of battle, in the evening addressed to him a letter, expressed in no very respectful terms. He was, therefore, put under arrest, and tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, and disrespect to his commander-in-chief. He was found guilty, and suspended for a year. The sentence

was severe, if not unjust. He had shown disrespect to his superior officer, but it was not unprovoked; and his behaviour on the field was not unworthy of his distinguished reputation. But general Washington, irritated by Lee's decided opposition to his favourite plan of fighting the enemy, viewed with a jealous eye the conduct of that officer; and, ignorant of circumstances, harshly blamed him for a movement which was entitled to the highest praise. This unmerited harshness roused the irritable temper of Lee, and produced the disrespect of which he was found guilty. The whole was merely an unhappy misunderstanding between two men tenderly jealous of their honour.

The sentence of the court-martial against general Lee closed the military career of that singular man, who, in the early part of the war, had been of much service to the Americans. He was bred to arms, had been a lieutenant-colonel in the British service, a colonel in the Portuguese army, and an aide-de-camp to the king of Poland, with the rank of major-general. On the breaking out of the American war he had resigned his commission in the British army, and offered his services to congress, who appointed him third in command of their forces. He had studied all the most valuable treatises on the art of war, both ancient and modern; and on military subjects his judgment was commonly correct. In the presence of the enemy he was cool and intrepid; and, notwithstanding many faults and whimsical peculiarities in his character, he was beloved both by the officers and men who served under him. His understanding was vigorous, his memory retentive, and his imagination lively. He was a classical scholar, and possessed a considerable portion of general knowledge. His temper was sour and severe: he scarcely ever laughed, and seldom smiled. He was impious and rude; a vindictive enemy, but a steady friend; extremely avaricious, but an entire stranger to deceit and dissimulation. He was at times a pleasant and instructive companion, but often capricious and disagreeable.

When the American army was encamped at White Plains, general Lee lodged in a small house near which general Washington occasionally passed when observing the dispositions of the enemy: one day, accompanied by some of his officers, he called on general Lee and dined with him; but no sooner were they gone than Lee, addressing his aid-du-camp, said, "You must look me out another place; for I shall have Washington and all his puppies continually calling upon me, and they will eat me up." Next day seeing the commander-in-chief and his suite coming that way, and suspecting another visit, he ordered his servant to write on the door with chalk, "No victuals dressed here to-day." Perceiving this inscription, general Washington and his officers rode off, not a little amused at the incident, and the oddities of Lee's character. Lee had a strong attachment to dogs, and some of these animals always accompanied him. On being informed that congress had confirmed the sentence of the court-martial against him, pointing to a dog, he exclaimed, "O that I were that animal, that I might not call man my brother!" This singular person died in Philadelphia, in the beginning of October, 1782.

After the battle of Freehold Court House, the British army continued its march without interruption to Sandy Hook, where it embarked on the 5th of July, and on the same day landed at New York.

General Washington marched to the North River, and took a position near his old camp at White Plains.

CHAP. XVI.

COUNT D'ESTAING ARRIVES ON THE COAST OF AMERICA. — APPEARS OFF NEW YORK. — SAILS TO RHODE ISLAND. — LORD HOWE FOLLOWS HIM. — BOTH FLEETS PUT TO SEA. — SEPARATED BY A STORM — WHICH ALSO OVERTAKES SULLIVAN'S ARMY. — AMERICANS MARCH AGAINST THE BRITISH LINES. — D'ESTAING COMES TO RHODE ISLAND, BUT SAILS FOR BOSTON. — SULLIVAN ESCAPES. — BUZZARD'S BAY ATTACKED. — BAYLER CUT OFF. — DONOP DEFEATED. — LITTLE EGG HARBOUR ATTACKED. — PULASKI'S LEGION DEFEATED. — ADMIRAL BYRON OVERTAKEN WITH A STORM. — D'ESTAING SAILS FOR THE WEST INDIES. — INDIAN WAR. — WYOMING DESTROYED, AND THE PEOPLE MURDERED. — CHERRY VALLEY. — COLONEL GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE TAKES KASKASIAS. — SURPRISES ST. VINCENT, AND COMPELS GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO SURRENDER.

On the 5th of July, the day on which the British army arrived at New York, the count d'Estaing, with a French fleet, appeared on the coast of Virginia.

In the month of March, the French ambassador in London, by order of his government, notified to the British court the treaties entered into between France and America. In a few days afterwards he quitted London without the ceremony of taking leave, and, about the same time, the British ambassador left Paris in a similar manner. This was considered equivalent to a declaration of war; and although war was not actually declared, yet both parties diligently prepared for hostilities.

The French equipped at Toulon a fleet of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, and gave the command to count d'Estaing, who, with a considerable number of troops on board, sailed on the thirteenth of April; but, meeting with contrary winds, he did not reach the coast of America till the 5th of July. He expected to find the British army in Philadelphia, and the fleet in the Delaware; and it has been supposed that if this expectation had been realised, the consequences to Britain

must have been calamitous. But it is needless to speculate on what might have ensued in circumstances which never existed. For the British fleet and army were at Sandy Hook or New York before the French fleet arrived on the coast.

Informed of the departure of the British from Pennsylvania, admiral d'Estaing instantly sailed to the northward, and, on the evening of the 11th of July, came to anchor off New York. Admiral lord Howe, whose fleet amounted only to six ships of the line, four of fifty guns each, and some frigates and smaller vessels, had been informed of d'Estaing's arrival on the coast some days before he appeared in sight, and had made a judicious disposition of his force for the defence of the harbour. For some time after d'Estaing came in sight, the wind was unfavourable to an attempt on the British fleet; however, on the 22d of July, it veered to the eastward, the French squadron got under way, and the British expected to be immediately attacked. But, instead of proceeding towards the harbour, d'Estaing stood out to sea, and sailed as far south as the capes of the Delaware, where he altered his course and steered directly for Rhode Island, off which he appeared on the 29th of the month. There he meditated an attack, in which general Sullivan, with a detachment from general Washington's army, and reinforcements from New England, was to co-operate.

The Americans had been preparing for some time to attempt the reduction of Rhode Island; and Sullivan had been appointed to superintend and hasten the preparations. His measures did not escape the notice of major-general sir Robert Pigot, commander of the island, who, in order to impede his operations, had ordered two different incursions into Providence Plantation, one conducted by colonel Campbell, and another under major Eyre, in which a quantity of military and naval stores, some galleys and armed sloops, with upwards of 100 boats prepared for the expedition, were destroyed. These losses retarded the preparations of general Sullivan;

and when count d'Estaing appeared, the Americans were not ready to co-operate with him.

Rhode Island, which consists of two parts connected by an isthmus, lies off the coast of Connecticut, not far from the main land, and has several small islands near it. Newport, the chief town of the island, stands to the west of the isthmus; and the island of Connanicut lies off it, between Rhode Island and the continent. There are three entrances to the town, one by the east or Seakonet Passage; another by the west of the island, between it and Connanicut, called the Main Channel; and another by the west of Connanicut, called the West or Naraganset Passage, and which unites with the Main Channel at the east end of Connanicut.

The British garrison under general Pigot amounted to 6000 men. The main body lay at Newport; three regiments were stationed on Connanicut Island; the isthmus was defended by a chain of redoubts; and each of the three entrances by sea was guarded by frigates and galleys, which were destroyed on the appearance of count d'Estaing, to prevent them from falling into his hands. D'Estaing stationed some ships of war both in the Seakonet and Naraganset passages, while he effectually closed the main channel, by anchoring with his fleet at its mouth; and in that situation he remained till the 8th of August. The Americans being then ready to co-operate with him, he sailed towards the harbour, receiving and returning the fire of several batteries as he passed, and anchored between Newport and Connanicut.

On the first appearance of the French fleet at Rhode Island, information of the event was sent to New York; and lord Howe, whose squadron was then increased to eight ships of the line, five of fifty guns each, two of forty, four frigates, with three fire-ships, two bombs, and a number of inferior vessels, after having been detained four days by contrary winds, sailed towards Rhode Island, appeared in sight of it on the morning of the 9th, and, in the evening, anchored off Point Judith, without the entrance into the Main Channel, towards

which the wind directly blew, and prevented the French from coming out; but it shifted to north-east during the night, and, in the morning, D'Estaing sailed towards the British fleet, before a favourable breeze. Besides his superior force, he had the advantage of the weather-gage; lord Howe, therefore, declined a battle, and stood out to sea. D'Estaing followed him; and both fleets were soon out of sight of Rhode Island.

Lord Howe and count d'Estaing spent two days in presence of each other, exhausting all the resources of nautical science, in order to preserve or to gain the weather-gage. Towards the close of the second day, when about to come to action, the fleets were separated by a violent storm, which dispersed and considerably injured both of them. Single ships afterwards fell in with each other, and spirited encounters ensued; but no important advantage was gained on either side. Lord Howe returned to New York, and D'Estaing to Newport, both in a shattered condition.

When D'Estaing followed lord Howe from Rhode Island, Sullivan's army, amounting to 10,000 men, chiefly militia, was ready to take the field: it was proposed, however, not to commence hostilities till the return of the French, in order that they might not offend D'Estaing, who had already discovered some jealousy and irritation on points of mere form and ceremony. But, as the American army could not be long kept together, that proposal was over-ruled, and it was resolved immediately to begin active operations.

On finding himself seriously threatened, general Pigot withdrew his troops from Connanicut, called in his outposts, and concentrated his force in the vicinity of Newport, where he occupied an entrenched camp. The American army was transported from the continent to the north-east end of the island, took possession of a fortified post, which the British had abandoned, and marched towards Newport, to besiege the hostile camp at that place.

But, on the 12th of August, before Sullivan had begun

the siege, his army was overtaken by the furious storm of wind and rain which dispersed and damaged the fleets. It blew down and almost irreparably injured the tents, rendered the fire-arms unfit for immediate use, and damaged the ammunition, of which fifty rounds had just been delivered to each man. The soldiers, having no shelter, suffered severely, and some of them perished in the storm, which lasted three days; afterwards the American army advanced towards the British lines, and began the siege. But the absence of the fleet rendered the situation of general Sullivan's army precarious, as the British force at Newport could easily be increased. On the evening of the 19th, D'Estaing again appeared off the island; but the joy of the Americans on that occasion was of short duration. For he immediately informed general Sullivan that, in obedience to his orders, and agreeably to the advice of all his officers, he was about to sail to the harbour of Boston. His instructions were to enter that port, in case he should meet with any disaster, or find a superior British fleet on the coast. The shattered condition of his ships, and the arrival of admiral Byron with reinforcements from England, constituted the very state of things contemplated in his instructions; and therefore he resolved to proceed to Boston.

To be abandoned by the fleet in such critical circumstances, and not only deprived of the brilliant success which they thought within their reach, but exposed to imminent hazard, caused much disappointment, irritation, and alarm in the American camp. The marquis de la Fayette and general Greene were despatched to count d'Estaing to remonstrate with him on the subject, and to press his co-operation and assistance for two days only, in which time they flattered themselves the most brilliant success would crown their efforts. But the count was not popular in the fleet: he was a military officer as well as a naval commander, and was considered as belonging to the army rather than to the navy. The officers of the sea service looked on him with a jealous

and envious eye, and were willing to thwart him as far as they were able with safety to themselves. When, on the pressing application of La Fayette and Greene, he again submitted the matter to their consideration, they took advantage of the letter of the admiral's instructions, and unanimously adhered to their former resolution; sacrificing the service of their prince to their own petty jealousies and animosities. D'Estaing therefore felt himself constrained to set sail for Boston.

The departure of the French marine force left Sullivan's army in a critical situation. It was in a firm reliance on the co-operation of the French fleet that the expedition was undertaken; and its sudden and unexpected departure not only disappointed the sanguine hopes of speedy success, but exposed the army to much hazard; for the British troops, under general Pigot, might have been reinforced, and the fleet might have cut off Sullivan's retreat.

The departure of the French fleet greatly discouraged the American army; and in a few days Sullivan's force was considerably diminished by desertion. On the 26th of August, he therefore resolved to raise the siege, and retreat to the north end of the island; and took the necessary precautions for the successful execution of that movement.

In the night of the 28th, general Sullivan silently decamped, and retired unobserved. Early in the morning the British discovered his retreat, and instantly commenced a pursuit. They soon overtook the light troops who covered the retreat of the American army, and who continued skirmishing and retreating till they reached the north end of the island, where the army occupied a strong position, at a place where the British formerly had a fortified post, the works of which had been strengthened during the two preceding days. There a severe conflict, for about half an hour, ensued, when the combatants mutually withdrew from the field. The loss of the armies was nearly equal, amounting to between

two and three hundred killed or wounded in the course of the day.

On the 30th of August there was a good deal of cannonading, but neither party ventured to attack the other. The British were expecting reinforcements; and Sullivan, although he made a show of resolutely maintaining his post, was busily preparing for the evacuation of the island. In the evening he silently struck his tents, embarked his army, with all the artillery, baggage, and stores, on board a great number of boats, and landed safely on the continent, before the British suspected his intention to abandon the post. General Sullivan made a timely escape; for sir Henry Clinton was on his way, with 4000 men, to the assistance of general Pigot. He was detained four days in the Sound by contrary winds; but arrived on the day after the Americans left the island. A very short delay would probably have proved fatal to their army.

The most sanguine expectations had been entertained throughout the United States of the reduction of Rhode Island and the capture of the British force which defended it; so that the disappointment and mortification on the failure of the enterprise were exceedingly bitter. The irritation against the French, who were considered the authors of the miscarriage, was violent. Sullivan was confident of success; and his chagrin at the departure of the French fleet made him use some expressions, in a general order, which gave offence to D'Estaing. The American leaders felt the importance of preserving the good will of their allies. Hence Sullivan explained; and Washington and congress employed all their influence to soothe the angry feelings of the French admiral, and to prevent that disunion and distrust which threatened to alienate the Americans and their new allies from each other. These efforts to heal the growing breach were successful; although the ill humour of the populace manifested itself in quarrelling with the French sailors both at Boston and Charlestown in South Carolina.

The British fleet had suffered considerably in the

storm, but had not sustained so much damage as the French. In a short time, lord Howe was again ready for sea; and, having learned that D'Estaing had sailed for Boston, he left New York with the intention of reaching that place before him, or of attacking him there, if he found it could be done with advantage. But on entering the bay of Boston, he perceived the French fleet in Nantasket Roads, so judiciously stationed, and so well protected by batteries, that there was no prospect of attacking it with success. He therefore returned to New York, where finding, that, by fresh arrivals, his fleet was decidedly superior to that of the French, he availed himself of the permission which he had received some time before, and resigned the command to admiral Gambier, who was to continue in the command till the arrival of admiral Byron, who was daily expected from Halifax.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that general Sullivan had effected his retreat from Rhode Island, set out on his return to New York; but, that the expedition might not be wholly ineffectual, he meditated an attack on New London, situated on a river which falls into the Sound. The wind, however, being unfavourable to the enterprise, he gave the command of the troops on board the transports to general Grey, with orders to proceed in an expedition against Buzzard's Bay, and continued his voyage to New York. In obedience to the orders which he had received, general Grey sailed to Acushnet river, where he landed on the 5th of September, and destroyed all the shipping in the river, amounting to more than seventy sail. He burned a great part of the towns of Bedford and Fairhaven, the one on the west and the other on the east bank, destroying a considerable quantity of military and naval stores, provisions, and merchandise. He landed at six in the evening; and so rapid were his movements, that the work of destruction was accomplished and the troops reimbarked before noon the next day. He then proceeded to the island called Martha's Vineyard, where he took or burned several vessels, destroyed a salt work, compelled the inhabitants to sur-

render their arms, and levied from them a contribution of 1000 sheep and 300 oxen, with which seasonable supply of provisions he returned to New York.

The return of the British fleet and of the troops under general Grey relieved the Americans from the anxious apprehension of an attack on their allies at Boston. Under that apprehension general Washington broke up his camp at White Plains, and, proceeding northward, took a position at Fredericksburg. He detached generals Gates and M'Dougall to Danbury in Connecticut, in order that they might be in readiness to move as circumstances might require; and he sent general Putnam to West Point, to watch the North River, and the important passes in the highlands. But the return of the fleet and troops to New York quieted those apprehensions.

Meanwhile the Americans perceived that an expedition was preparing at New York, the object of which they were unable to ascertain; but soon after the return of the troops under general Grey, the British army advanced in great force on both sides of the North River. The column on the west bank, consisting of 5000 men, commanded by lord Cornwallis, extended from the Hudson to the Hackensack. The division on the east side, consisting of about 3000 men, under general Knyphausen, stretched from the North River to the Brunx. The communication between them was kept up by flat-bottomed boats, by means of which the two divisions could have been readily united, if the Americans had advanced against either of them. General Washington sent out several detachments to observe the movements of those columns. Colonel Baylor, who with his regiment of cavalry, consisting of upwards of a hundred men, had been stationed near Paramus, crossed the Hackensack on the morning of the 27th of September, and occupied Taupan or Herringtown, a small village near New Taupan, where some militia were posted. Of these circumstances lord Cornwallis received immediate notice, and he formed a plan to surprise and cut off both the cavalry and militia. The execution of the enterprise against

Baylor was intrusted to general Grey; and colonel Campbell, with a detachment from Knyphausen's division, was to cross the river, and attack the militia at New Taupan. Colonel Campbell's part of the plan failed, by some delay in the passage of the river; during which a deserter informed the militia of their danger, and they saved themselves by flight. But general Grey completely surprised Baylor's troops, and killed, wounded, or took the greater part of them. Colonel Baylor was wounded and made prisoner. The slaughter on that occasion, which the Americans thought unnecessarily great, excited much indignation, and was the subject of loud complaints throughout the United States. Even in war needless severity is censurable; but how far it is possible in a sudden attack, especially in the darkness of the night, to keep within the exact limits of humanity, cannot be easily determined.

Three days after the surprise of Baylor, the American colonel Butler, with a detachment of infantry, assisted by major Lee with part of his cavalry, fell in with a party of fifteen chasseurs and about 100 yagers, under captain Donop, on whom they made such a rapid charge, that, without the loss of a man, they killed ten on the spot, and took about twenty prisoners. This trifling advantage was very soothiug to the embittered feelings of the Americans, who considered it a compensation for Baylor's loss.

The movement of the British army up the North River, already mentioned, was made for the purpose of foraging, and also to cover a meditated attack on Little Egg Harbour; and having accomplished its object, it returned to New York. Little Egg Harbour, situated on the coast of Jersey, was a noted rendezvous of privateers; and being so near the entrance to New York, ships bound to that port were much exposed to their depredations. An expedition against it was therefore planned, and the conduct of the enterprise intrusted to captain Ferguson of the seventeenth regiment, with about 300 men, assisted by captain Collins of the

navy. He sailed from New York; but, short as the passage was, he was detained several days by contrary winds, and did not arrive at the place of his destination till the evening of the 5th of October. The Americans had got notice of his design, and had sent to sea such of their privateers as were ready for sailing. They had also hauled the largest of the remaining vessels, which were chiefly prizes, twenty miles up the river to Chesnut Neck, and had carried their smaller vessels still farther into the country. Ferguson proceeded to Chesnut Neck, burned the vessels there, destroyed the storehouses and public works of every sort; and, in returning, committed some depredations on private property.

Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman in the service of the United States, had been nominated commander of the American cavalry; but, as that appointment gave offence to the officers, he resigned his commission. Congress, however, permitted him to raise a legionary corps, consisting of three incomplete companies of infantry and three troops of cavalry, which he officered chiefly with foreigners, and commanded the whole in person. He was ordered towards Little Egg harbour, and lay, without due vigilance, eight or ten miles from the coast. One Juliet, a Frenchman, who had deserted from the British service and obtained a commission in Pulaski's corpse, re-deserted, joined captain Ferguson of Little Egg harbour, after his return from Chesnut Neck, and gave him exact information of the strength and situation of Pulaski's troops. Ferguson and Collins immediately resolved to surprise the Polish nobleman; and for that purpose, on the fifteenth of October, they embarked two hundred and fifty men in boats, rowed ten miles up the river before daybreak, landed within a small distance of his infantry, left fifty men to guard their boats, and with the remainder of their force suddenly fell on the unsuspicious detachment, killed about fifty of them, among whom were the baron de Bosc and lieutenant de la Bor-

derie, and retreated, with scarcely any loss, before they could be attacked by Pulaski's cavalry.

In this instance, as in the attack on Baylor, the execution was severe; occasioned, partly, by the very nature of a surprise in the night, and partly by a false rumour propagated by the deserter that Pulaski had ordered his men to give the British no quarter. These desultory attacks were creditable to the bravery and enterprising spirit of the officers and men by whom they were executed. They greatly injured or ruined many individuals among the Americans; but they were useless in respect of the great object of the war — the subjugation of the country.

Admiral Byron, with a considerable number of ships, sailed from England on the ninth of June to take the command of the fleet on the American station, and to oppose count d'Estaing in those seas: but during the summer the weather was uncommonly boisterous in the Atlantic ocean; and on the third of July he was overtaken by a storm which dispersed his fleet. Several of his ships reached New York singly; and six of them, which had kept together under admiral Parker, arrived there on the 29th of August. Admiral Byron, in the Princess Royal, being left alone, steered for Halifax, where he anchored on the 26th of August; and in that port found the Culloden, one of his fleet. These two vessels being refitted with the utmost despatch, he sailed on the 4th of September, and arrived at New York about the middle of the month.

He made every exertion to repair his shattered squadron; but was not ready for sea till the 18th of October, when he sailed for Boston in quest of d'Estaing. His ill fortune still pursued him; for scarcely had he reached the bay of Boston, when, on the 1st of November, a violent storm arose, which drove him to sea, and so disabled his ships that he was obliged to hasten to Rhode Island to refit. D'Estaign, having repaired his fleet, seized the opportunity of admiral Byron's absence to put to sea, on the 3d of November, and steered for

the West Indies. On the same day, general Grant, with a detachment of six thousand men from the British army, convoyed by six sail of the line under commodore Hotham, sailed for the same quarter. Towards the end of the month a detachment of the British army, under lieutenant-colonel Campbell, embarked with the design of invading the southern states, and was escorted by commodore sir Peter Parker. A sufficient force still remained at New York for its defence.

As the season for active operations in the northern and middle states was now at an end, the American army retired into winter quarters. The main body was cantoned on both sides of the North River, about West Point and Middleburgh, while light troops were posted in advance. In this situation they covered the country, and were conveniently placed for procuring subsistence. The greater part of the men were on the west side of the river, because from that quarter the supplies of bread were drawn, while the animal food was brought from the states of New England; and it was easier to drive the cattle than to transport the corn from a distance. The army was lodged in huts as in the preceding winter; but, by means of the French alliance, the men were more comfortable clothed than formerly.

During the summer of 1778 a harassing and destructive war was carried on by the Indians against the settlers on the western frontier of the United States. Congress was desirous that the numerous tribes of aboriginal inhabitants should either become their allies or remain neutral during the war. At first many of the nations seemed friendly to the United States: but congress had not the means of supplying them with those European commodities which they were in the habit of using; while the British agents in Canada liberally bestowed upon them the articles of which they stood in need, and zealously invited them to take up arms against the United States. By their presents and their councils, they alienated the minds of the Indians from the Americans, and prevailed on them to espouse

the British cause; so that, from the Mohawk to the Ohio, the American frontier was threatened with the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

Although the storm was foreseen, yet the measures of the Americans, depending on the resolutions of different states and the agency of militia, were not sufficiently prompt to prevent or anticipate the threatened aggression. The Indians, with savage fury, burst into the American territory, carrying death and desolation in their train. The happy settlement of Wyoming became, in a particular manner, the scene of carnage, misery, and ruin. That beautiful tract of country, lying on both sides of the Susquehannah, was claimed both by Connecticut and Pennsylvania; and had been settled by emigrants from the former of those states, who, it is said, purchased the land from the Indians. The settlement was in a most flourishing condition, and contained upwards of 1000 families. Unfortunately Wyoming was not free from those political dissensions which, in a greater or less degree, agitated every province of the union, and which have such a pestilential tendency to destroy social happiness and embitter human life. A great majority of the settlers zealously espoused the cause of congress; but a few were devoted to the support of royalty. These last, considering themselves harshly treated by their political opponents, withdrew from the settlement, and sought refuge among the savages, or retired to the British posts on the frontier of Canada. There they cherished a deadly hatred against their countrymen, and meditated sanguinary schemes of vengeance.

At the head of those refugees was colonel John Butler, cousin of Zebulon Butler, commander of the militia of Wyoming. The hostile designs of the Indians and of the emigrants were not unknown to the settlers at Wyoming, who constructed forts, and made such other preparations for defence as they were able. But their enemies endeavoured to deceive, in order more easily to destroy them. The hostile Indians sent messengers with

assurances of their peaceable dispositions; and, the more effectually to lull the settlers at Wyoming into a fatal security, Butler, in a numerous assembly of savages, declared that he was about to retire to Detroit, adding, agreeably to the peculiar idiom of his auditors, that "his hand was too short to do any thing that year." These professions and declarations were merely intended to deceive; but the perfidious artifice was not followed with complete success. The settlers suspected the designs of their enemies, and, it is said, wrote to congress and to general Washington, representing the danger to which they were exposed; but their letters were intercepted by the royalists, or *tories*, as they were commonly called, of Pennsylvania, so that government remained ignorant of the perilous state of Wyoming. Meanwhile the settlers betook themselves to their forts for security.

On the 1st of July, a hostile force, supposed to amount to 1500 men, composed of 300 Indians under their own chiefs, and upwards of 1000 tories painted like Indians, commanded by colonel John Butler, burst into the settlement. They easily gained possession, by treachery, it is said, of one of the upper forts; and they took the other. The two principal forts, Kingston and Wilkesborough, were situated near each other, but on different sides of the river. Of the first of these colonel Zebulon Butler took possession, with the greater part of the armed force of the district; and a number of women and children took refuge in the same place. When summoned to surrender the fort, Zebulon Butler refused compliance, but proposed a parley; and a place at some distance from the fort was agreed on for a conference. At the head of 400 men, Butler left the fort and marched towards the appointed spot, but found none of the opposite party there. At a still greater distance from the fort, however, and near the foot of a mountain, he saw a flag displayed, and with imprudent confidence proceeded towards it; but, for a while, it retired as he advanced. At length he found himself almost surrounded by the

enemy, who, instead of a friendly conference, commenced a furious attack upon him. In that alarming juncture the Americans displayed much firmness, and fought with such steady courage that the advantage was rather on their side, till a soldier, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out, "The colonel has ordered a retreat!" Instantly his men fell into confusion, and a total rout soon ensued. The troops fled towards the river, which they endeavoured to pass in order to enter Fort Wilkesborough. The enemy pursued with savage fury, massacreing without resistance all who fell in their way. So complete was their success, and so destructive their rage, that, of 400 men who had marched out to the delusive parley, Zebulon Butler and about twenty others only escaped. In this transaction we are equally surprised at the unsuspecting simplicity of the one party, and the perfidious villany of the other.

Next day the Indians and their barbarous white allies invested Fort Kingston. Colonel Dennison, on whom the command of the fort had devolved, sensible of his inability to defend the post, went out with a flag of truce to enquire what terms would be granted to the garrison on surrendering. John Butler, with savage ferocity, replied, "The hatchet." Dennison defended the fort till most of his men were either killed or wounded, when he surrendered at discretion. A few prisoners were selected; and John Butler, with his Indians and tories, to save themselves the trouble of murdering individually their vanquished enemies, with the women and children, shut them all up in the houses and barracks, set fire to the buildings, and with horrid joy saw them perish in one general conflagration.

Butler next passed over to Wilkesborough, the feeble garrison of which, trusting to the generosity of the enemy, surrendered at discretion; but they mistook the character of Butler and his associates: for the continental soldiers, amounting to about seventy, were cut in pieces; and the rest of the people in the fort, men, women, and children, were consumed in the flames, as those of

Kingston had been. All show of resistance was at an end; but the work of devastation did not cease. About 3000 persons, without money, clothes, or provisions, precipitately abandoned their homes, and fled from the murderous tomahawk: and, in order to prevent their return, their enemies destroyed every thing they had left behind. In the work of desolation and death, fire and sword were alternately employed; and the settlement, which had lately bloomed like paradise, was converted into a dreary and silent wilderness. The property of the few tories only was spared; and their thinly scattered houses and farms smiled in the midst of surrounding ruin. Having gratified their revenge, and hearing that regular troops were advancing against them, the savage invaders retreated from the country which they had laid waste.

Congress could not spare troops to cover the whole of the western frontier, which was exposed to hostile incursions; and consequently some districts were occasionally ravaged: but the sufferings at Wyoming were so remarkable, that, on the first notice of what had happened, colonel Hartley, with his regiment and two companies of militia, was ordered to that settlement. He marched against the Indian towns, destroyed some of them, and took a few prisoners; but soon found it expedient to retreat. He was pursued and vigorously attacked; but repulsed the assailants with loss.

The fourth Pennsylvanian regiment, with some of Morgan's riflemen, commanded by lieutenant-colonel William Butler, a distinguished partizan, marched for the defence of the western frontier. After a difficult and fatiguing march, in which he crossed high mountains and deep waters, he reached the Indian towns of Unundilla and Anaquaqua, near the sources of the Susquehannah, where a considerable quantity of corn was laid up for winter provisions. He destroyed both the towns and corn, drove the savages to a greater distance from the frontier, and rendered their incursions into the provinces more difficult.

On the 11th of November 500 Indians and loyalists,

with a small detachment of regular troops, under the command of the notorious John Butler, made an irruption into the settlement at Cherry Valley, in the state of New York, surprised and killed colonel Alden, commander of the American force at that place, and ten of his soldiers. They attacked a fort erected there; but were compelled to retreat. Next day they left the place, after having murdered and scalped thirty-two of the inhabitants, chiefly women and children.

While the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York were afflicted by the horrors of savage warfare, the same calamity was preparing for Virginia, but was prevented by the courage and persevering activity of colonel George Rogers Clarke. At the head of some of the western militia of Virginia, by incredible exertions, he penetrated to the British settlements on the Mississippi, and took the town of Kaskasias, a dependency on Canada, which, along with that province, had been given up to the British at the peace of 1763. At Kaskasias Clarke, with a handful of men, was far removed from all support, and surrounded by numerous fierce and hostile tribes: but his courage and talents were equal to the arduous circumstances in which he was placed; and he showed in a striking manner what difficulties a sound and enterprising mind can surmount, and what brilliant exploits it can achieve. His plans were formed with judgment, and executed with promptitude and intrepidity. At the most inclement season of the year, he suddenly attacked the Indians in their villages, turned all their military artifices against themselves, and damped the courage of their warriors.

On taking Kaskasias, Clarke made Rocheblave, governor of the place, prisoner, and got possession of all his written instructions for the conduct of the war, from Quebec, Detroit, and Michillimackmack. From those papers he learned that colonel Hamilton, governor of Detroit, was very active in planning and stimulating the incursions of the Indians into the United States. In the month of December Hamilton advanced to

St. Vincent on the Wabash, in order to prepare an extensive expedition not only against Clarke, but against the whole western frontier of Virginia. Clarke was in no condition to encounter the combined force of all the tribes from the lakes to the mouth of the Ohio, supported by the troops which Hamilton might be able to bring into the field; but he took the best measures in his power for maintaining his post.

Colonel Clarke soon received information that Hamilton, trusting to his distance from danger, and to the difficulty of approaching him, had sent off all his Indians to alarm and harass the frontier, and lay securely at St. Vincent with only about eighty soldiers, having three field-pieces and some swivels. Clarke, although he could muster only 130 men, determined to take advantage of Hamilton's weakness and security and to attack him, as the only means of saving himself and of disconcerting the whole of Hamilton's plan. Accordingly, about the beginning of February, 1779, he despatched a small galley which he had fitted out, mounting two four-pounders and four swivels, manned with a company of soldiers, and carrying stores for his men, with orders to force her way up the Wabash, to take her station a few miles below St. Vincent, and to allow no person to pass her. He himself marched with his little band, and spent sixteen days in traversing the country between Kaskasias and St. Vincent, passing with incredible fatigue through woods and marshes. He was five days in crossing the drowned lands of the Wabash; and for five miles was frequently up to the breast in water. After overcoming difficulties which had been thought insurmountable, he appeared before the place, and completely surprised it. The inhabitants readily submitted, but Hamilton at first defended himself in the fort: next day, however, he surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. By his activity in encouraging the hostilities of the Indians, and by the revolting enormities perpetrated by those savages, Hamilton had rendered himself so obnoxious, that the

executive council of Virginia threw him and some of his immediate agents into prison, and put them in irons.

This enterprise of Clarke was of much advantage to congress. It disconcerted the whole of Hamilton's plan, saved the western frontier of Virginia from the extensive devastations of savage warfare which had been devised against it, cooled the ardour of many of the Indian tribes, and deterred them from engaging in their ferocious incursions into the United States.

NOTES.

PAGE 27. line 26.

Du Pratz, Hist. of Louisiana, i. 78, 79. Hearne, 190—214. Lewis and Clarke, ii. 296. The medicine bag contains a sort of household god or carved image, about eighteen inches long, carefully wrapped up, and which is an object of great veneration; also the war cap.—Mackenzie, Fur Trade, 101.

The medicine bag is of great importance in war. It is a sort of sacrilege for any person but the owner to touch it. In it are kept little bags, which are taken out as occasion may require, and worn as amulets round the neck or waist. A chief on the Columbia kept in his medicine bag fourteen fore-fingers, of as many enemies slain by him in battle, and which he showed to Lewis and Clarke with much satisfaction. Halkett, in his Notes on the North American Indians, 384, 385.

PAGE 48. line 10.

Jarvis, and Duponceau, in Buchanan, 210—278, &c. Warden, iii. 527. James, ii. 65, 66. Carver, 414. The confederacy of the Iroquois or Five Nations, namely, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Senecas, has existed from time immemorial. About the year 1700, the Tuscaroroes joined the confederacy, and since that time they are sometimes spoken of as the *Five*, sometimes as the *Six* Nations. Colden's Hist. of the Five Indian Nations, vol. i. p. 1. &c. Halkett's Historical Notes respecting the North American Indians, p. 11.

PAGE 126. line 20.

The origin of the term Yankee, applied in derision to the colonists of the New England states, seems uncertain. Gordon (i. 481.) says it was a favourite cant word of farmer Jonathan Hastings of Cambridge, about 1713. Jonathan used it to express excellency. A yankee good horse, yankee cider, &c. with him meant an excellently good horse, excellent cider, &c. The students used to hire horses from him; and as he used the word yankee on all occasions, they gave him the name of Yankee Jon. He was a weak, honest man: and the term yankee probably became a by-word to express a weak, simple, and awkward person. From Jonathan Hastings of Cambridge it seems to have been transferred to the colonists east of the Hudson. In the Western states the term yankee is applied to all rogues, without regard to the place of their nativity. Hunter's Memoirs, p. 120.

PAGE 270. line 14.

A few extracts from the correspondence of the generals will best illustrate their sentiments and feelings: —

"Duty and principle," said general Burgoyne, in his letter to general Gates, "make me a public enemy to the Americans who have taken up arms; but I seek to be a generous one, nor have I the shadow of resentment against any individual, who does not induce it by acts derogatory to those maxims on which all men of honour think alike."

In answer to this letter, general Gates said, "That the savages of America should, in their warfare, mangle and scalp the unhappy prisoners who fall into their hands is neither new nor extraordinary; but that the famous lieutenant-general Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the soldier and scholar, should hire the savages of America to scalp Europeans and the descendants of Europeans, — nay more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbarously taken, — is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall, in every gazette, confirm the truth of the horrid tale.

"Miss Macrea, a young lady lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable dispositions, engaged to an officer of your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and then scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children were all treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their once happy and peaceful dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss Macrea was particularly aggravated by her being dressed to meet her promised husband; but she met her murderer employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood!"

It is no way surprising that general Burgoyne felt indignant at such a charge; and to this part of the letter he replied, "I have hesitated, Sir, in answering the other paragraphs of your letter. I disdain to justify myself against the rhapsodies of fiction and calumny, which, from the first of this contest, it has been an unvaried American policy to propagate, but which no longer imposes on the world. I am induced to deviate from this general rule in the present instance, lest my silence should be construed into an acknowledgment of the truth of your allegations, and a pretence should be thence taken for exercising future barbarities by the American troops.

"By this motive, and on this only, I condescend to inform you that I would not be conscious of the acts you presume to impute to me for the whole continent of America, though the wealth of worlds were in its bowels, and a paradise on its surface.

"It has happened that all my transactions with the Indian nations, last year and this, have been clearly heard, distinctly understood, and accurately minuted, by very numerous, and, in many parts, very unprejudiced persons. So immediately opposite to truth is your assertion that I have paid a price for scalps, that one of the first regulations established by me at the great council in May, and repeated and enforced, and invariably adhered to since, was, that the Indians should receive compensation for prisoners, because it would prevent cruelty; and that not only such compensation should be withheld, but a strict account demanded, for scalps. These pledges of conquest (for such you well know they will ever account them)

were solemnly and peremptorily prohibited to be taken from the wounded, and even the dying; and the persons of aged men, women, and children, and prisoners, were pronounced sacred even in assaults.

"In respect to Miss Macrea, her fate wanted not the tragic display you have laboured to give it, to make it as sincerely abhorred and lamented by me as it can be by the most tender of her friends. The fact was no premeditated barbarity: on the contrary, two chiefs who had brought her off for the purpose of security, not of violence to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion in one, from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim. Upon the first intelligence of this event, I obliged the Indians to deliver the murderer into my hands; and though to have punished him by our laws or principles of justice would have been perhaps unprecedented, he certainly should have suffered death, had I not been convinced, from circumstances and observation beyond the possibility of doubt, that a pardon, under the terms which I presented and they accepted, would be more efficacious than an execution to prevent similar mischiefs.

"The above instance excepted, your intelligence respecting the cruelties of the Indians is false. You seem to threaten me with European publications, which affect me as little as any other threats you could make; but in regard to American publications, whether your charge against me, which I acquit you of believing, was penned *from* a gazette, and *for* a gazette, I desire, and demand of you as a man of honour, that, should it appear in print at all, this answer may follow it."

PAGE 304. line 14.

Stedman, ii. 50. In consequence of an order of congress that all letters received by members of that body, or their agents, from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, should be laid before them, the following letters from Mr. Johnstone were laid on the table: —

"*To Francis Dana, Esquire.* (*Private.*)

"Dear Sir,

"It gives me great pleasure to find your name among the list of congress; because I am persuaded, from your personal knowledge of me and my family and connections, you can entertain no jealousy that I would engage in the execution of any commission that was inamicable to the rights and privileges of America, or the general liberties of mankind; while, on the other hand, your character must be so well known, that no man will suspect you will yield any point that is contrary to the real interests of your country; and therefore it will be presumed we will lose no opportunity, from false punctilio, of meeting to discuss our differences fairly, and that, if we do agree, it will be on the most liberal and lasting terms of union. There are three facts I wish to assure you of: —First, that Dr. Franklin, on the 28th of March last, in discussing the several articles we wish to make the basis of our treaty, was perfectly satisfied they were beneficial to North America, and such as she should accept. Second, That this treaty with France was not the first treaty which France had exacted, and with which Mr. Simeon Deane had put to sea, but granted and acceded to after the sentiments of the people of Great Britain had fully changed, after the friends to America had gained their points for reconciliation, and solely with a view to disappoint the good effects of our endeavours. You will be

pleased to hear the pamphlet wrote by Mr. Pulteney was a great means of opening the minds of the people of England to the real state of the question between us, and that it has gone through thirteen editions. The third fact is, that Spain, unasked, had sent a formal message, disapproving of the conduct of France. All these I will engage to prove to your satisfaction. I beg to recommend to your personal civilities my friend Dr. Fergusson; he is a man of the greatest genius and virtue, and always has been a steady friend to America.

"If you follow the example of Britain in the hour of her privilege, insolence, and madness, and refuse to hear us, I still expect, since I am here, to have the privilege of coming among you, and seeing the country, as there are many men, whose virtue I admire above all Greek and Roman names, that I should be glad to tell my children about.

"I am, with esteem and affection, dear Sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"Philadelphia, "GEORGE JOHNSTONE."

"June 10. 1778.

"*To General Joseph Reed.*

"Sir,

"Your near and worthy relation, Mr. Dennis de Berdt, has made me happy by favouring me with a letter to you. I have been informed by general Robertson of your great worth and consequence in the unhappy disputes that have subsisted between Great Britain and her descendants. Your pen and your sword have both been used with glory and advantage in vindicating the rights of mankind, and of that community of which you were a part. Such a conduct, as the first and superior of all human duties, must ever command my warmest friendship and veneration.

"In the midst of those affecting scenes, my feeble voice has not been wanting to stop the evils in their progress, and to remove, on a large and liberal footing, the cause of all jealousy; — that every subject of the empire might live equally free and secure in the enjoyment of the blessings of life; — not one part dependent on the will of another with opposite interests, but a general union, on terms of perfect security and mutual advantage.

"During the contest, I am free to confess, my wishes have ever been that America might so far prevail as to oblige this country to see their error, and to reflect and reason fairly in the case of others, heirs to the same privileges with themselves. It has pleased God in his justice so to dispose of events that the kingdom is at length convinced of her folly and her faults. A commission under parliamentary authority is now issued for settling, in a manner consistent with that union of force on which the safety of both parties depends, all the differences that have or can subsist between Great Britain and America, short of a total separation of interests. In this commission I am an unworthy associate. Though no man can feel the desire of cementing in peace and friendship every member of what was called the British empire stronger than myself, yet I am sensible that it might have fallen to the lot of many persons better qualified to attain the end proposed. All I can claim is ardent zeal and upright intentions; and when I reflect that this negotiation must depend much more on perfect integrity than refinement of understanding, where

a sensible magnanimous people will see their own interest, and carefully guard their honour in every transaction, I am more inclined to hope, from the good will I have always borne them, Iam not altogether unqualified for the task.

" If it be (as I hope it is) the disposition of good men in the provinces to prefer freedom in conjunction with Great Britain, to an union with the ancient enemy of both, — if it is their generous inclination to forget recent injuries, and recall to their remembrance former benefits,—I am in hopes we may yet be great and happy. I am sure the people in America will find, in my brother commissioners and myself, a fair and cheerful concurrence in adjusting every point to their utmost wish, not inconsistent, as I said before, with a beneficial union of interests, which is the object of our commission.

" Nothing could surpass the glory you have acquired in arms, except the generous magnanimity of meeting on the terms of justice and equality, after demonstrating to the world that the fear of force could have no just influence on that decision.

" The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people,— from patriotism, humanity, friendship, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, — than ever was yet bestowed on human kind.

" This letter from Mr. de Berdt I shall consider as an introduction to you, which line of communication I shall endeavour by every means to improve, by public demonstrations of respect or private friendship, as your answer may enable me.

" I am, with great respect, Sir,

" Your most obedient and most humble servant,

" London, " GEO. JOHNSTONE."

" April 11. 1778."

" *To Robert Morris, Esquire.* (*Private.*)

" Dear Sir, Philadelphia, June 16. 1778.

" I came to this country in a sincere belief that a reconciliation between Great Britain and America could be established on terms honourable and beneficial to both. I am persuaded and can prove, that the last treaty with France should be no bar, and the first treaty, if ever you saw it, should be an inducement.

" Supposing every obstacle to prevent us from treating removed, we are then to consider whether the terms proposed are advantageous. I enclose you my sentiments on the subject at large; if they concur with yours, we shall join in the work with all the prudence and all the means possible and virtuous. I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think that Washington and the president have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interests, and spare the miseries and devastations of war. I wish, above all things, to see you, and hope you will so contrive it. Do not think Great Britain so low: remember she never can be lower than you were at Trenton.

It is the same blunderers who produced the war who have conducted it. When the sense of the nation is roused, believe me, she can make struggles which few have conceived, but which I should be sorry to see exerted on such an occasion.

"Whatever may be our fate, I shall ever retain the strictest private friendship for you and yours; but let me entreat you to recall all those endearing ties to your recollection.

"I am, with affection and esteem, dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEO. JOHNSTONE."

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